

Dealing in Self-Ownership: The Pursuit of Money and Personal Autonomy in Urban Jamaica

Lucy F. Robertson



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Abstract

Based on research in Whitehouse, Montego Bay, Jamaica, this thesis examines understandings of personal autonomy and the pursuit of self-control in a small urban community. Whilst outsiders perceive people in Whitehouse as marginal to society, closer examination shows that although individuals consider themselves poor, they are not without agency.

The thesis demonstrates that whilst Jamaica is a modern capitalist society, an understanding of local views of dependency and control is necessary for interpreting Jamaican social life. Individuals do not consider themselves to be dependent upon other people – be it employers or kin – and it is through the deployment of an ideology and practice of autonomy that self-ownership is both sought and celebrated. By showing that people in Whitehouse do not simply resist dominant ideologies and practices, rather they do not consider themselves to be under the control of others, this thesis contributes to anthropological discussions of power and resistance.

Money plays a dominant role in a variety of contexts within Jamaica, creating an ideology which equates money with power. Through the analysis of discourses and practices surrounding money, it is shown that money can create freedom from unwanted relationships, but it can also limit a person's freedom of choice, as pressure is applied to give money away, and individuals can feel 'trapped' in relationships. Thus within Whitehouse, money *per se* is not central to personhood, but the pursuit of money is integral to ideas about the person. In this way, any person can attain personal status through being active and creative in applying entrepreneurial skills. This theme runs through the thesis and shows how the most 'marginal' people attempt to achieve self-governance.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is the produce of my own work and has been composed by myself.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mum, dad and brother.

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Introduction

This thesis examines the practice and negotiation of personal autonomy in a small urban community in Jamaica. Exploring different relationships within the community, I show how marginal people are able to gain agency in their everyday lives. These marginal people are not a minority group, but in fact, are the majority of Jamaica's population - the poor, mainly black, working class.

Rather than conducting a class analysis of Jamaica and positioning this community within it, I explore how ideologies of power and autonomy are perceived and experienced in everyday life. The values placed on being in control of one's own life and exerting control over others, form the basis of social conduct within Whitehouse. Yet these two values can often appear to create contradictory situations as people desire to create a distance between themselves and others, but are enmeshed in a string of social obligations. People in Whitehouse view personal autonomy as the basis for status and build upon this the value of control over resources, and other people. Autonomy is both the freedom from domination by others and freedom from being dependent on others.

Yet Whitehouse is not an isolated community, and its inhabitants are bound in relationships that stretch between themselves, the state, civil society and the wider world through the economy of the nation and personal international networks. Despite the constraints placed on social life, individuals seek autonomy wherever they can, attempting to gain back some control over their own lives. Therefore at times individuals distance themselves from ties. This can be at work, in sexual relationships, between friends, kin, and acquaintances. This behaviour allows the most marginal people to obtain some status as they 'choose' how to live their life or with whom to spend time.

While having personal control is the basis for status, exerting control over others allows individuals to obtain greater social standing. This is evident, for example, in employing others, becoming a patron, and for men, having a number of girlfriends. However, in attaining this position of hierarchy, social obligations need

to be created. It is not possible to keep a distance from people. In forming these relationships the dominator is caught in a double bind. As they begin to exert control over others, the subordinated resist this action, and sometimes succeed in bringing down the perpetrator. Furthermore, in order to establish a position of authority, an individual creates their own dependency on others, for example, in taking loans or relying on kin relations. Therefore, the individual never seems to truly achieve the stature aspired to.

Ideologies of money also govern social life. Money can be used to build relationships of support and exchange but can also be used as a tool for individuals to exert power over others. The value of money in this community is also discussed. Whilst the majority of this thesis focuses on conflict in relationships through the desire for control, I show how other relationships - male friendship groups and kin relations, reject the premise of seeking personal autonomy. Instead they favour sharing and equality as a basis for long-term obligation and exchange.

Within this introduction, I begin by outlining my fieldwork and methodologies used in data collection. Secondly I present a selected history of Jamaica, beginning with the plantation system. Within this section I show how the plantation was structured and status acquired, and go on to discuss the active resistance of slaves to their subordinated position. I go on to explore how post-emancipation autonomy was sought once slaves were 'free' and discuss the changing political economy of Jamaica. Changes to the economy since World War II are also pertinent to present day Jamaica and are therefore also explored. I finish this section by summarising these issues in order to understand the how marginality is ascribed in Jamaica and how marginal people have responded to their position. Thirdly, in locating the thesis, I explore theoretical issues of race, class and gender in the Caribbean, as well as anthropological analyses of power and money. Finally, I present a summary of the context of my fieldwork and the structure of the thesis.

Fieldwork and methodology

My time spent in Whitehouse was, like most fieldwork experiences I presume, what I would call a roller coaster of emotions and experiences. The process of attempting to be accepted in a place where you stuck out 'like a sore thumb' was neither easy nor straightforward, and it never ended. The most salient obstacle to overcome was the suspicions raised by the question of why I wanted to live there. I was white, I was foreign, and I was living in a 'poor' community way below my perceived station in life. All these things led to the presumption that I was working for the CIA. Despite these perceptions I tried my hardest to explain about being a student and wanting to learn about other ways of living. Whilst those that got to know me never truly understood what I was doing, I became trustworthy. Others, however, retained their suspicions of me and kept me at a clear distance; they rarely spoke to me and didn't respond when I tried to strike up conversations with them. These perceptions limited my fieldwork at first. I did not want to ask many questions, in order not to add fuel to the fire and it took me a few months to get to meet everyone, even though the community was small.

Most of my fieldwork data was collected through participant observation. There were a number of places I 'hung out'- joining in conversations and practising economic exchange (see below). The fishing beach was a locale that I settled into quickly. It was a public area where most men would sit around at some point in the day, and younger women would saunter onto from time to time. On the fishing beach were two bars with benches outside, these were good places to sit whilst I was looking for people to talk to. Being close to the bars I didn't appear too odd to be sitting by myself doing apparently nothing, which was not appropriate for women. Being white also licensed me to sit inside bars and chat to people including the bar staff. Again single women would not normally have been able to do this.

Whilst I found entry into public areas fairly easy, and was able to talk to many people this way, it was much harder to spend time with people inside their houses. This was problematic as women spent most of their time in their homes (I

discuss this issue in Chapter Four). Being female, I was fortunately befriended by a few women who welcomed me into their homes and shared their food and drink with me - showing me that I was a friend. We would talk and watch television together, normally one of the American soap operas that were extremely popular (see Miller 1992 and Miller 1994: 247-53 for their popularity and significance in Trinidad). To access space with other women there remained an unspoken compromise. We would normally sit on the veranda or just outside the house. Otherwise, I would talk to the women who were involved in public working activities such as the bars or shops, or whilst they were washing clothes or preparing food outside.

The most significant entry to the domestic realm that I gained was through renting a room in a house occupied by a 35 year old woman and her two teenage daughters. When I first moved into the community I lived in this house and stayed there for nine months. It was the experience of living with this family that led me to understand many aspects of life in Jamaica. I learnt a lot about the conflicting relationships between men and women. The children's father who also lived in the community, would visit from time to time, sometimes to eat, and at other times in the middle of the night, banging on doors and starting arguments. I also began to understand the relationships between family, business and other economic practises, as this family used the ground level of their house as a restaurant and bar.

Sharing the house was also where I began to practise and experience economic exchange myself, mainly through paying rent and contributing to household bills and other expenses. The room I rented actually belonged to an aunt of the mother. Not to miss out on the opportunity to make some extra money, the mother offered to give me food for a weekly fee, and I also paid towards the gas and electricity. This seemed a good idea to me as it also saved me a lot of trouble. After about a month, however, things became difficult. I wasn't always around the house at the right time and if I missed the opportunity of being fed, I had to find something extra myself. Furthermore, I was often given fish to eat at the fishing beach and didn't always want to eat when I got back to the house. It made sense to

me that I looked after my own food from then on. The mother then became very antagonistic to me, often making comments about me, or my room, to her children and I felt very uncomfortable. After a while I was ostracised from the living room where they would sit in the evenings. After nine months I decided to move out and get my own place. This experience began to teach me a lot about the significance of money in personal relationships.

Whilst the majority of my time was spent in Whitehouse, there were a few other places that I was also able to learn about Whitehouse and the wider area of Montego Bay. One of these was at sea. Whitehouse was used as a fishing beach by a number of men within and around the community and so fishing became an activity that I often participated in. This was an unusual practice for a woman to partake in, and people in the community were somewhat amused by my actions. Unfortunately, it may also have attributed to the animosity I sometimes felt from the younger women in the community, and the restrictions placed on my entering houses. I was in some respects, not acting like a real woman and so they may have felt uncomfortable about letting me into their homes.

Going to sea did, however, help me to see the sporadic nature of fishing when fishtraps were sometimes drawn with very few fish inside. The fluctuations in fishing and the consequent influence on economic life also led me to understand how work in general was very sporadic, especially within the informal market. Participating in fishing also had another advantage. It was a secluded place, away from the eyes and ears of the community. It was often during times of fishing that I was confided in and gained information that I might not otherwise have learnt. Thus whilst my time spent fishing with men may have restricted relationships with women, it had the opposite effect with men. I became someone who was not like other young women - someone who would gossip all day, and was to be trusted.

Fishing also led me to other fishing beaches around Montego Bay as fishermen would pick up materials for their boats. This enabled me to see the differences between Whitehouse and other areas. Many other fishing beaches around the city were not residential communities. These other beaches were often used by people in town to socialise in, and were more dominated by men. These

comparisons showed the significance of the private areas of the houses in Whitehouse and also how Whitehouse was not simply a fishing beach.

Caribbean History

The plantation system

Plantation systems in the Caribbean have long been recognised for the influence they have on present day Caribbean society. Plantation slavery was a system that changed the lives of those brought from Africa through the slave trade, and also those born on the plantation. Social studies of Caribbean plantation systems have covered many issues, such as the survival and disintegration of African institutions (Herskovits 1937, Herskovits and Herskovits 1947),¹ and the creation of creole culture through the interaction of slaves and free men (Mintz and Price 1973).

Within this introduction, I wish to focus on the structure and politics of relationships within the plantation system, that is, the relationships between slaves, and between slaves and free men. The definition of being a slave, was that he or she was legal property of the owner, making the power of a master over a slave, absolute (Patterson 1967: 80). The way masters exerted this power over slaves is clear when the conditions in which slaves worked is considered. It was not uncommon, for example, for slaves to die of exhaustion. It is the use of power exerted by slave owners and also the attempts of regaining power by slaves that I see as influencing present day Jamaican society. For it was within this context, primarily, that Jamaicans manifested a desire for personal autonomy. And it was this desire for autonomy that was vividly prevalent in daily life in Whitehouse. In order to understand power relations on the plantation, I will briefly discuss the structure of the plantation system, the resistance and autonomy of slaves, and the use of money in this context. I will then also consider the different periods of Jamaican society leading up to the present.

¹ Whilst anthropologists no longer look for African 'survival' in present day institutions in quite the same way Herskovits did, Yelvington (2001) points out that in many ways anthropologists do still draw upon this framework. In considering globalisation, for example, processes such as hybridity or syncretism are used, especially in understanding 'black culture' or 'blackness'.

Structure and status

Before I discuss the structure of the plantation system I shall briefly describe the ways in which racial terms are used within this thesis. Within Jamaica, the terms black, brown and white are most widely used to denote racial identity. This is both locally and within Caribbean literature. These terms imply a specificity of skin colour, aside from the social significance which these colours imply. Black is used to describe those of African descent and those born in Jamaica. The term black denotes a darkness of skin colouring, which Jamaicans distinguish from those who are of mixed race or paler colour. Brown is the term used by Jamaicans for those whose skin colour is significantly lighter than those who are black. The terms 'coloureds', 'mixed race' and 'mulatto' are often used in literature, and unless stated otherwise, are synonymous with being brown. The term 'white' denotes Europeans who originally owned plantations in Jamaica, as well as creoles, expatriots and foreigners visiting the island. White Jamaicans, who have some brown or black ancestry (and are therefore darker in skin colour than Caucasians), are distinguished as white through other physical features such as straight hair, the shape of the nose and the colour of eyes. Although Jamaican physical features tend to lie more on a continuum than fitting into distinct groups like this, none the less, these are the terms used locally in order to categorise individuals according to 'race'.

The social structure of the plantation was embedded in the process of making sugar, along with ideologies of race. The production process required a number of different tasks and skilled positions, allowing opportunity for social hierarchy. Planting and cutting cane required the largest labour force, and both men and women were involved in this process. More skilled positions were required in the boiler house where sugar was refined. Specific roles were also undertaken in different skilled areas by men, such as craftsmen and tradesmen, and most significantly, in supervisory roles such as overseer, foreman or drivesman. Drivers would watch over field and boiler house workers and were encouraged to whip those who were perceived not to be working hard enough. Overseers also

held authority and would report to plantation masters of any behaviour that looked unsuitable. Women faced fewer opportunities to occupy higher positions, but they were able to escape the 'lowest' form of work - field labour, through acquiring positions as nurses or domestics in the estate house (Patterson 1967: 57-60).

These roles and positions carried with them significant differences in status. Field labour was considered the lowest form of labour and those who acquired other positions were considered to look down on the other slaves (Smith 1953, James 1973: 16). Moreover, those in positions to exercise power were able to abuse that power through physically abusing other slaves themselves, even ordering them to work on their own cultivation plots (Patterson 1967: 63). Women who worked as domestics or nurses were still open to abuse however, as masters often demanded sexual favours from them (*ibid.*).

Workers could not actually secure these higher positions through hard work and determination, as it was the master who chose people out of the field. The selection process combined colour and luck. Household slaves especially, were selected for being brown and 'attractive', and any children that these women bore to the master commanded more respect than the other black children, because they were also born brown rather than black. Likewise, the most desired positions of tradesmen, masons, carpenters and headmen were also selected most commonly on the basis of colour (Patterson 1967: 61, 64, Stinchcombe 1995: 162-6). Thus, social structure and mobility on the plantation was firmly embedded in race. Plantation owners, or attorneys and overseers who looked after estates when owners were absent, were all white. They commanded all authority and power over slaves, by virtue of slaves being their property. Positions on the estate that gave respite from the drudgery and exploitation of field labour were also gained through being coloured. Those who were black, therefore, conducted the hardest work and received the worst treatment from both coloureds and whites. They also had the least prospect and hope of changing their work and social position.

Resistance, autonomy and manumission

Power was exercised over slaves in varying degrees across the Caribbean. Some planters exercised extreme restrictions on freedom, whilst others did much less so. This was often a matter of desire and perspective of the plantation owner, but islands were also influenced by the governing empire. Islands differed as to how much political autonomy they had, and thus how much legal freedom to impose their own laws over the plantation system. Jamaica had its own island assembly and Justice of Peace and so was able to adjust its law in accordance to the interest of planters (Stinchcombe 1995: 128). Slaves were thus treated as 'non-persons' without rights of their own. In order to procure some autonomy or resistance, practical liberties were taken on a day to day basis.

Slaves, especially black slaves, were generally powerless in their positions in the plantation system but a number of forms of resistance were exerted. The least violent forms of resistance were exerted in the refusal to work, which could also involve feigning illness or even self inflicted injury (Patterson 1967: 261). In order to try and escape the plantation system altogether, slaves would attempt to run away. Those that made it, headed for the interior land in Jamaica which was mountainous and enabled slaves to stay relatively well hidden from the rest of the free community who would arrest them on sight. The groups that fled the plantation and set up their own communities became known as Maroons (Craton 1982). Although these communities maintained their own freedom, they were still under threat of constant attack and recapture. Ideologically however, they did provide a way for slaves to see that escape was possible (Price 1973).

Resistance was also exerted in revolts and rebellions. Jamaica, in fact, had the highest number of revolts. A number of reasons are given for this. Firstly Jamaica had a very small ratio of masters to slaves (Patterson 1967: 274). In Jamaica there averaged over ten slaves to each white, whilst Barbados averaged four, and in the USA slaves were the minority (ibid.). In the earlier stages of the plantation system there were a high proportion of African slaves, who were more likely to revolt than creole slaves as they had not been born into the system. Furthermore, in Jamaica many slaves were Akan, who in Africa were well known for their jungle warfare and military regime (ibid.: 275). Towards the end of the eighteenth century

however, revolts were being led by creole slaves, in particular, those who had positions of authority on the plantation, mainly drivers. Drivers tended to have higher rates of literacy and were more able to move around and between plantations, gathering and distributing information (Craton 1982: 54-6). The rise of revolts and rebellions in the nineteenth century are considered to be the outcome of a combination of issues including, the failing sugar industries in some islands, the abolition movements in Europe, and revolutionary changes in France and Haiti (Craton 1979, 1982).

In order to actually be set free from the plantation system and live as a freed person, slaves needed some kind of relationship to the plantation owner or another freed person (Stinchcombe 1995: 141). Manumission occurred in frequency and kind for a variety of reasons. Documents show that creoles were granted freedom more frequently than Africans, as were slaves on smaller holdings and in urban areas (Stinchcombe 1995: 142, Higman 1984: 382). In contexts where manumission is high, slaves had more opportunity to work closely with owners. Stinchcombe (1995) considers four ways in which these kinds of ties could be made.

First of all, there were sexual ties. Young creole women were favoured by planters and would often secure manumission through this particular kind of relationship. If a planter fathered a child to a female slave, then the mother was often manumitted, if and when, the child was.

The second kind of ties were domestic and managerial. Slaves in these positions, such as domestic servants, stock takers, and drivers were all required to be trusted. Individuals were selected for their perceived skill and loyalty and were encouraged to be responsible. In order for owners to receive this loyalty, owners were actually placed in a position of needing to grant a degree of freedom to slaves, so that slaves could choose to be loyal. This kind of 'deal' was often suggested, though not formalised, through the promise of eventual manumission.

The third tie suggested by Stinchcombe, was commerce. The exploitation of a commercial venture could lead a slave to earn enough money to buy their own freedom (see below), or be placed in a position where another a free person could free them. Urban slaves were much more likely to receive manumission in this way

as they had greater opportunity for hiring themselves out as workers, for example, at the shipping wharfs. Women in urban areas could also be hired as domestic servants.

The fourth tie that could be made was political. In Jamaica especially, the high number of slaves, low number of whites, and high dependency on sugar for the island's economy, placed planters in a vulnerable position. Thus slaves were required to work in the military, fighting other colonial powers, and slave rebels. Plantation slaves were also given money for providing information on run-away slaves that led to re-capture.

The above forms of response to the plantation system and relations could all be considered as resistance against planters and the coercion that was inflicted upon slaves. But rather than simply looking at the way slaves reacted to owners, McDonald (1993) considers the ways in which slaves attempted to have power over themselves. This is in terms of how they attempted to improve their living conditions (McDonald 1993: 168). McDonald considers this power to come through the use of provision grounds. Provision grounds were initially created as slaves were expected to grow their own food in order to support themselves and children. This was cheaper and easier for plantation owners. However, as these were an area of economic life that the planter did not have control over they were also a space where slaves could be enterprising. Slaves could grow a variety of herbs and vegetables as well as keep livestock. Although these plots took a great deal of work and effort, slaves could use them as a domain to show skill and motivation to improve their conditions. Through producing for themselves, slaves had a sphere where they could make decisions, and choose what to do with their produce and earnings. Thus, they could exert autonomy over their own lives (ibid.).

It is this kind of autonomy and self-building that I consider throughout this thesis, though obvious differences need to be stated. Slaves were in very real positions of entrapment, and were dependant upon their master's good will for all other areas of their life to function with some freedom. At the time of my fieldwork, however, Jamaicans were no longer enslaved in such a way, although of course, all citizens lived under the political and socio-economic conditions and jurisdiction of

the country. Most significantly, individuals in Whitehouse, perceived themselves to be free and able to choose how to live their lives.

Money and the Acquisition of Freedom

Through the creation of provision grounds, informal markets developed in town areas at which slaves were granted the freedom to sell and exchange their produce and buy any other food or material items that were available (Mintz 1974: 198). It was possible therefore for slaves to accumulate money. The amount of money gained and saved by slaves is unclear though. Patterson (1967: 229) reports that slaves managed to save very little after their own necessities had been bought. What is known, however, is that some slaves were able to accumulate enough money to buy their freedom (Mintz 1985: 333). As James states, "Hard working slaves cultivated vegetables and raised chickens to sell in the towns to make a little in order to buy rum and tobacco; and here and there a Napoleon of finance, by luck and industry, could make enough to purchase his freedom" (1973: 9). Saving money in order to buy one's freedom could not have been a straightforward matter. If many slaves were able to obtain freedom in such a way, then reports of manumission would have been much higher, and slaves would have more likely orientated themselves towards freedom in this manner, rather than taking the risk of running away or instigating revolts. James (*ibid.*) suggests that it took hard work, precise management and luck in order to procure manumission through money. Many slaves were perhaps too exhausted to expend extra amounts of energy on their own cultivation plots when this time was their only time of rest. Some may have been more skilled in farming than others, enabling them to cultivate a steady and large produce, thus always creating a surplus to sell.

Despite the difficulty in obtaining enough money for freedom, the ideology must have been a strong one on the plantation. Considering all free men had money to spend and to buy slaves as well, money would have been seen as a very powerful tool.

The aspect of luck may well be again tied to the ideology of race. Those who were lucky enough to obtain positions on the plantation outside of field labour

through their colour, may have had more time and energy to invest in their own cultivation plots. Patterson (1967: 63) remarks that those working closely for the master sometimes received gifts, thus these could possibly have been sold, or if they were food gifts, consumed by the individual or family thus keeping one's own produce for sale.

Long (1973: 77 [1774]) remarks, however, that those slaves who held more senior positions on the estate did not always in fact take the avenue of freedom that was available to them. Social and economic restrictions were still placed upon non-whites, making life for the freed slave stressful and often poverty-stricken. Slaves were not automatically accepted by the white community once they were free men, and in fact were often chastised and pressured. For example, if a freed slave hit a white man in any way he would immediately be sold as a slave again. Thus ex-slaves often became little more than beggars (*ibid.*). As those on the estate who were foremen or tradesmen held some autonomy and position on the estate, it was actually preferable for them to continue in their position and have some status and authority over others, instead of being external to the plantation where they would have none.

These aspects of the social system show how relations were constructed on the plantation. Relations were firmly embedded in control and power which was constructed through race. Personal autonomy for slaves was gained through colour and luck, by being chosen by the master to take a skilled position or conduct service work on the plantation. For others, the informal market system offered an avenue to accumulate money and in fact became a significant aspect of the formation of the protopeasantry in Jamaica (Mintz 1974).

Post-emancipation

In 1834 the abolition movement and the rise in rebellions around the Caribbean led to the official cessation of the slave plantation system. This did not however, bring an immediate end to the extreme working conditions of slaves, or the desire of masters to own people as a cheap labour force. As planters were to face greater economic pressure once slavery had ended, the British government

declared a six year period of apprenticeship on plantations, whereby slaves would continue to work on the plantations but receive some wages for work. This was designed to keep a steady workforce for the planters and to increase the desire for ex-slaves to continue working on the plantation after full emancipation.

For islands like Barbados, where land was in short supply, ex-slaves had little choice but to continue working on plantations as all cultivable land was owned by planters. In Jamaica however, land was not as scarce, and so planters needed to offer good conditions and wages in order to keep ex-slaves from leaving (Eisner 1961: 191). But the apprenticeship period did not go well in Jamaica. Abuse by planters remained and the overall system was badly administered and inefficient. Planters did not take the opportunity to change the rules of conduct (*ibid.*) and slaves continued to rebel against the system. In 1838, two years before it was planned, full emancipation was granted.

What followed full emancipation was further efforts to keep hold of the ex-slave population as a labour force, and so plantation owners attempted to make slaves dependent on them. This was exerted in a combination of ways, all with the aim of creating fear and dependency (Campbell 1976: 185). The huts and provision grounds that slaves had been using during slavery were perceived by ex-slaves to be rightfully theirs, but plantation owners started to demand rents and taxes (Bolland 1992: 116, Mintz 1974: 207). Other owners allowed ex-slaves to keep their land if, in exchange, they provided their labour for the plantation. In order to control blacks even further, the British Government exerted greater control over land by outlawing any squatting on estates or Crown land. Emigration was also restricted and labour was controlled through advanced wages and through punishment for laziness, lateness or misbehaviour (Bolland 1992: 119).

Many people fled the plantations in Jamaica after emancipation. The nightmare of the slavery system was enough to motivate this. But the desire to flee is also considered to be firmly embedded in the longing for personal ownership of land, as this was still restricted on plantations even after emancipation (Hall 1978 in Besson 1992). The personal ownership of land became the greatest desire of ex-

slaves and was symbolic of freedom and autonomy (Besson 1979; 1987; 1992: 201; Campbell 1976: 175; Smith 1992: 272).

One important influence in making land ownership possible for ex-slaves in Jamaica was the Baptist church. The church bought land from plantation owners whose plantations were failing. They then divided and sold the land to individuals and families that desired it (Besson 1992: 192). These areas became known as free villages, and grew rapidly with 19,000 ex-slaves living in such villages by 1845 (*ibid.*). Land was also bought through money that was earned through the informal market system and wage labour on the plantations, although it is considered that few persons had earned enough money through the apprenticeship period to buy much land (Eisner 1961: 310). Through the ownership of land, ex-slaves were able to escape relationships of dependency on the plantations.

Besson argues that the creation of the institution of family land (where land became the inalienable property of all family descendants), and the subsequent possession of land by ex-slaves, was the basis of community for freed people. Thus for her, customary tenure, based on kinship and rooted in resistance to the slavery system, is the basis for autonomy and community for Jamaicans (1992: 208).

Although land remains a valuable resource and one that allows autonomy in Jamaica, it is not possible to say that land is the main object of freedom. Even at post-emancipation, Besson does not discuss the differences in status and personal autonomy that individuals obtained within a community. If land was the basis of autonomy then all those within a community with the same amount of land would share equal independence, and experience of freedom. But during the plantation system, structures of power and control had been created which meant that at emancipation not all slaves were of equal status. Mulattos firmly considered themselves of higher status than blacks, and were accorded a higher status by whites (Smith 1992), as outlined above.

Mulattos though were never accepted as equal to whites, and during slavery, the child of a master and slave was not automatically accorded manumission, although the father held authority to give this if he so chose (Campbell 1976: 41). Mulattos were also limited in the economic status that they

could acquire when an Inheritance Act was passed in 1762. This stated that any estate ownership that was inherited by a mulatto child which was valued at over £2000 would become void (ibid.: 48). As the ownership of property was the key to power in Jamaica, mulatto people were to be restricted in acquiring property (both people and land) in order for whites to maintain their control of the island. The fact that this act was passed though shows that some mulattos were in fact inheriting estates, and therefore increasing their power and status. Therefore, not all mulattos were of equal status either. Some were sent abroad to be educated in England and returned to the island as lawyers or other professionals, whilst others who had been granted freedom, were living on the streets, and many women became prostitutes (ibid.: 52).

Peasantry

The creation of free villages, and other areas where ex-slaves bought or squatted on land created an established peasantry in Jamaica. Having begun as peasants during slavery, ex-slaves continued the practice of cultivating land and selling surplus produce in the informal market as well as supporting their labour through work on plantations, forming a 'protopeasantry' (Mintz 1974: 132). Although the Jamaican peasantry began during slavery and grew with emancipation, Mintz argues that the basic character of the peasantry remained more or less the same for the following 140 years (ibid.: 215).

Although Mintz (1974) discusses at length the marketing system of the peasantry in Jamaica (and I discuss this in Chapter Two) little is said about relationships that existed between peasants within the communities in which they lived. Horowitz (1971) analysed eight communities in Jamaica and assessed them according to their degree of 'integratedness'. In 'highly integrated' communities he found that there was a high degree of communal activity, including exchange labour, wide kinship obligations and with limited stratification and ethnic heterogeneity. 'Moderate' communities housed a combination of kinship ties and exchange labour but were also fairly mobile in social and economic activity. 'Least integrated' communities were based entirely on wage labour, often based on a

sugar plantation and had a clear stratification system of owners and those offering their labour. Unfortunately, Horowitz is not clear how he measures 'integratedness' or is clear about its inception. For example, do 'highly integrated' communities produce wide kinship obligations, or do such obligations produce the integratedness? Thus the measure of integratedness is somewhat tautological.

Whilst Clarke (1957), Horowitz (1971) and (Mintz 1973) attempt to classify Caribbean communities according to their land tenure, degrees of integration, or market system, Frucht (1967) argues that it is evident that Caribbean communities are neither wholly 'peasant' nor 'proletarian', and whilst some communities are supported by agriculture with wage labour, others are supported primarily by wage labour and secondarily by agriculture. Therefore it is not the 'type' of community that is important, but the way relations vary. This thesis explores this very issue. It is not simply an ethnography of a 'type' of community, i.e. a 'poor' or 'ghetto' area. Rather, it explores the different relations held within the community, and brings to light how relationships are constructed and maintained in everyday life.

The influence of the peasantry in present day Whitehouse is hard to establish. Whitehouse has never been an agricultural area, and is now well defined as urban. Whilst land tenure is still recognisable, 'traditions' of country life are considered to be absent in the city. The city is described as a place "to look money". What does clearly remain however, is the desire for autonomy that the peasantry also displayed.

Modern Industry

Jamaican society was still heavily dependent upon agriculture (particularly sugar) as its primary industry up until the beginning of the 1900s. At this point the country was also expanding its banana production and began investing in manufacturing. This was also when the first tourists were arriving in the country. The passage for American visitors to the island was first created through the banana boat industry and the United Fruit Company began to develop small hotels in Jamaica to accommodate their passengers (Taylor 1993: 43).

The biggest changes in the diversification of the economy and the consequent social changes in society came after the Second World War. The government began to invest in industries such as bauxite and tourism more heavily. There was also development of infrastructure such as roads and housing which were necessary to accommodate the growing urban population migrating from the rural areas. Government bureaucracy also grew and a new middle class was formed through both work in the civil service and in the growing private sector (Austin 1984: 4-5). At the same time, the country experienced mass migration as people attempted to escape poverty in rural areas by moving to the cities (Brereton 1989:87). Despite the mixture of blacks, browns and whites in the urban areas, ideologies of race still pervaded society and white communities kept themselves socially and physically separated from browns and blacks (ibid.: 93), a pattern which persisted throughout the colonial period (Howard and Clarke 1999).

Changes in economic investment did not however change the social position of the black, working class masses. After the Second World War things African or black continued to be perceived as inferior, and things white or European were seen as superior. Thus mixed race members of the middle class preferred to affiliate themselves with things 'white' and distance themselves from things 'black' (Palmer 1989: 112). However, by the end of the 1950s, the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica was becoming stronger and this brought racial discrimination and social inequality into more public discussion (ibid.: 114). Simultaneously, the growing Black Power movement in the USA was also receiving attention in Jamaica. In 1968 Walter Rodney, a young Guyanese history lecturer, visited Jamaica and gave a number of public lectures on Black Power. Speaking in ghettos in Kingston, he appealed to people to take back power from whites and end the discrimination they had been subjected to through imperialist powers. He gathered much support throughout the country but at the same time, the government, and the growing mixed middle class, became nervous that their own power would be diminished. The government subsequently discredited Rodney as a communist and prevented him from re-entering the country when he made a trip abroad (ibid.: 115-121). Whilst the Black Power movement heightened black

consciousness, racial ideologies still remained, with black people also subscribing to beliefs that blacks were inferior and untrustworthy. I also found that this attitude persisted when I conducted my fieldwork.

When the first Jamaican government, formed by the Peoples National Party (PNP), came to power in 1972, the country was still economically poor. The unemployment rate of the country was at 23.5%. This government, socialist in its orientation, embarked on a massive increase in expenditure on education, housing, roads and land reform. It also took further control of the declining agricultural industry and the developing industries of bauxite and tourism (Davies 1986: 73-79).

In this period the oil crisis had a detrimental effect on the Jamaican economy. The country relied on imports for 90% of its energy and also experienced a decrease in bauxite exports, as the government placed levies on them in order to compensate for economic loss (Looney 1987: 2). Agriculture continued to decline and by 1976 the youth unemployment rate hit 38.2% (Davies 1986: 84). The PNP then agreed to take a number of loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The main impact of these loans, due to IMF regulations, was to devalue the Jamaican dollar, cut public expenditure and establish the primacy of the market place (Anderson and Witter 1994: 12). Despite these changes, the economy did not grow in this time, and by 1980 agriculture and mining continued to decline and the youth unemployment rate had risen to 50.6% (Davies 1986: 88).

1980 was a year that saw a new election, food shortages and political violence. The Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) then took over government with a landslide victory. The JLP, with its private sector focus, received political and economic support from the USA. The USA bought bauxite from Jamaica and also gave aid for a number of projects² (Davies 1986: 89). The JLP also took on further loans from the IMF, which consequently imposed further restrictions on the economy. These included more cuts in public expenditure, further devaluation of the dollar and an increase in imported trade. The impact on Jamaican people was

² One such project was the financing of the Montego Bay Marine Park, which I came into contact with through my fieldwork. Established to protect coral reefs and manage tourism and fisheries, the organisation was partly funded by USAID and received extra grants for equipment etc.

harsh as inflation rose from 4.6% in 1981 to 31.2% in 1984 and the cost of living became extremely high (ibid.: 101).

These recent economic changes continue to affect life in Jamaica. The cost of living was still very high at the time of my fieldwork. An average wage in Whitehouse (discounting extreme wealth) was approximately J\$2500 (£42) a week. Food, often considered the main expenditure in a low-income household (c.f. Anderson and Witter 1994: 55)³ often cost the same as in the UK, and sometimes was more expensive. All health was paid for by patients – a consultation with a GP costing at least £10. Transport, utilities and clothing were all comparably priced to that in the UK. Schooling was also a household expenditure, as all secondary school pupils faced term fees and were required to buy text books. Housing in Whitehouse varied considerably. Whilst those who squatted on land paid little or nothing in terms of rent, those who wished to build a house of their own on family land often faced 1-10 years of costs for a basic structure. Thus in Whitehouse, people were earning perhaps a third of the wage of those in the UK, but had the same, or even greater expenses. People found it extremely difficult to make ends meet, and this further exacerbated a desire for money.

The economic conditions of the Caribbean region, increasing national debt and the particularly high cost of living for the poor, are believed to create an environment that is ripe for drugs operations (Griffith 2000: 17). The international drug trade creates opportunities for both people and the government to earn money in a new and expansive way. Employment is created for farmers, traders, money lenders and also for those who act in response to drug operations, such as the police force, security guards, and customs workers. Money earned is also filtered back into the formal economy through the consumption of housing and other material goods, off-shore banking levies, savings investments and fines (ibid.: 20).

In Jamaica the drug trade has boomed since the 1980s. Previously marijuana was the main drug exported and consumed within Jamaica but recently cocaine and many other 'hard' drugs have moved to the forefront of the industry. The social

³ Anderson and Witter (1994) cite that, for the bottom third of the population, between 61.5% and 71.8% of income is spent on food.

consequences of this have been severe. Jamaica has an extremely high murder rate for its 3 million population. In 1994 there were 690 murders, and by 1997 there were over 900, with the majority being related to drugs operations (Brana-Shute 2000: 104). This puts pressure on the government to invest in curtailing crime and violence. Between 1994 and 1997, the Jamaican government spent more money on national security than it did on health (Griffith 2000: 23).

Despite these costs, the drug trade continues to be a highly attractive occupation for individuals in Jamaica. This is especially so for young black men, who otherwise would not have the opportunity to earn large amounts of money. The fact that poor, young, black members of Jamaica have found a way to compete in earnings with the middle and upper classes has a highly significant influence on the perceptions of work and money for this group. Many young men no longer want to work long hours for little pay when they can earn money quickly through drugs, despite the risks involved. Young women too, get involved in drug smuggling, especially taking drugs abroad.

In Whitehouse young men also aspired to earn money in such a way. While some were not interested for moral reasons, or because of the high risk of danger attached to such activities, others were attracted by the speed with which money was earned and how little effort was needed. Drugs and crime were perceived as a way for poor black men and women to escape from poverty and become powerful rather than be subordinated. It was also an industry that was accessible, since only social contacts were needed, which were plentiful throughout poor communities in Montego Bay. Thus the drugs industry has enhanced the ideology that "money is power" and has become a tool of the poor as it has broken down the ideologies that individuals need to be of certain race or education in order to be wealthy.

Locating the thesis

Race and class

Social and political theory of the Caribbean has largely been focused on the social structure of societies. Due to the region's history of slavery and the plantation system, theorists have focused on how the original stratification of the plantation

has influenced Caribbean society up to the present.⁴ Theories of stratification pointed towards the domain of race as the defining feature of social structure. Braithwaite (1975 [1953]) argues that Caribbean society is clearly structured through hierarchical relationships, with 'whites' holding positions of power and dominance, and 'blacks' clearly at the bottom. Thus a class-colour correlation is made, with 'whites' being upper class, mixed or 'brown' holding middle class positions and 'blacks' dominating the working or lower class. According to Braithwaite, the structure is maintained by the power of the dominant classes providing the values of society to be ascribed to.

Alternatively, M. G. Smith (1956, 1965a) argues that Caribbean societies are plural societies. He states that societies are split into distinct sections each with their own culture, shown, for example, in their practices, institutions, economic roles and political organisation. In the Caribbean, these sections are primarily divided through race, with most countries having three sections of whites, browns and blacks.⁵ Social hierarchy is also formed through these sections, with whites positioned at the top of the hierarchy and blacks at the bottom. This hierarchy is a continuation of the structure operative during the colonial periods, where whites were associated with the ownership of property, browns held some professional positions and blacks were ex-slaves.

Smith diverges from Braithwaite however, as he argues that economic organisation, or class, is insufficient for conceptualising the organisation of Caribbean societies, as the different groups are too divergent in values and institutions. He also suggests that a divergence of values between members of one economic group are found, for example, the values found within the elite of Grenada. Here, the 'white elite' held an "ascriptive orientation with solidary, particularistic stress", whilst the 'dark elite' held values that were "individualistic and achievement orientated" (Smith 1965b: 253, Smith 1984: 12). Thus for Smith,

⁴ The significance of history in Caribbean anthropology has been widely acknowledged. Trouillot (1992) highlights the importance of history in forming the region's heterogeneity, making it a complex area of study for the anthropologist. Mintz (1996) argues that it is history itself that gives the Caribbean region its identity. Whereas other regions share a common language and culture, Caribbean societies share the experience of a particular kind of modernisation.

⁵ In the wider Caribbean prominent racial groups also include Hispanics, indigenous Indians and East Indians. In Jamaica minority groups of Chinese Lebanese and Syrians are also found (Hoetink 1985).

race is also the means of division in Caribbean societies and the basis of social hierarchy, but it is the different values and institutions of plural groups that maintain segregation. However, Smith's theory has been criticised for failing to take into account the shared values found across the different groups or layers. Thus neither Smith nor Braithwaite allow for social mobility.

More recently, issues of race and class have been analysed through the study of ethnicity. Research has mainly focused on Trinidad where ethnicity is still considered a dominant ascription of identity. In Yelvington's (1993) discussion of Trinidadian history, he shows how the plantation system and the importation of indentured labourers created a system whereby ethnicity became the determinant of access to wealth, power and the means of production. He also shows how since World War II political parties were established and based on ethnicity. The People's National Movement promised better conditions for Trinidadians and built a discourse of nationalism that focused mainly on the black population. Later on the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), a mainly East Indian supported party was formed. Political divisions built on ethnicity still remain (*ibid.*: 12-14). In his ethnography of a Trinidadian factory, Yelvington (1995) also shows how ethnicity is prescriptive in the positions workers are employed in. Supervisors are mainly Indian or white whilst the workers are 'Negroes' - being black or brown. This is due to the cultural discourses in which Indians and whites are perceived as more trustworthy and hardworking than Negroes (*ibid.*: 135). Ethnic distinctions are also made in Trinidad among a number of non-economic lines. Miller (1994), for example, describes how there are differences in family organisation, inheritance and property relations and perceptions of masculinity between Indian and African descendants in Trinidad.

Both Yelvington (1995) and Miller (1991, 1994) describe how the distinctions of ethnic groups are changing. Miller considers this a process for both Afro-Caribbeans and Indians but argues that Indian values and practices are becoming more prominently creolised. Upward changes in economic and occupational status for Indians have been significant as well as cultural changes. Rather than being simple rural folk, Indians have become known for their entrepreneurial skills as

they have become more educated and urbanised (Miller 1994: 275). Traditional Hindu practices, such as arranged marriages, have become rare, with very few Indians in the north of the island speaking Hindi (ibid.: 276).

Whilst ethnicity is a primary determinant in Trinidadian identity, elsewhere, for example in Jamaica, class and gender are still perceived to be the more dominant influence in ideologies of social identity and inequality. Whilst racial ideologies still exist in Jamaica, expressed for example in stereotypes such as 'blacks are lazy' or 'blacks do not want to work', it is not just racial ideologies, or group segregation, that determine social structure and practices, certainly at the community level.

Stone argues against the theory of plural societies (and racial determinism), stating that in Jamaican society "material or economic role relationships are the principal determinants of both status and power" and not membership of a plural layer (1973: 7). Whilst Smith's classification is useful for describing Jamaican society in the post-emancipation period, the social and economic developments of the latter half of the twentieth century have significantly shaped the overall determinants of hierarchy, status and power (ibid.: 8). As Jamaica became more urbanised and the manufacturing sectors grew, new employment opportunities arose, and those who were skilled became upwardly mobile. Thus Stone takes occupation rather than race to be the key factor in measuring social stratification.

Following Stone, I show that economic affluence is the main determinant of social status and power in Whitehouse. I also diverge from him, however, as I do not take occupation in and of itself as an accurate indicator of economic disposition. Firstly, in Jamaica it is very common for individuals to have more than one job or a variety of trades (Comitas 1973). In stating one's occupation, individuals are most likely to specify one kind of work they are involved in, which may not necessarily be the most lucrative economically. People may prefer to play down their income in order to avoid taxation, or choose the job which carries a higher social status, such as scuba diving rather than fishing. Secondly, levels of income are significantly varied within one occupation. In fishing, for example, the crew, captain and owner of a boat earn different amounts of money, as do fishermen who own more than

one boat. Thirdly, earning an income through a legitimate job is not the only way individuals receive money. Many may have undeclared 'businesses' and most individuals receive money through domestic networks (see Chapter One) or friends (see Chapter Three). The extra income that these factors generate, may not be as great as the economic difference between say, an unskilled labourer and a professional, but they are significant in determining social status and power within the local area.

This thesis then, is an analysis of relationships that steps beyond existing ethnographic work in Jamaica. Rather than looking at relationships through the structures of race or class, I take the dominant ideologies of power and control and see how they are applied in everyday life. The previous analyses of race do not automatically apply to the Whitehouse context, as many black people were considered to be more wealthy or powerful than other brown people in the community.⁶ The shifting positions of wealth held by individuals is also not entirely understood through class analyses. For, whilst individuals may become very wealthy, and powerful, it is not necessarily the case that they have become middle or upper class, given Jamaican dominant ideology of the necessity for education and manners (see Austin 1984, and Chapter Three). Furthermore, none of the existing analyses take gender into account, which is an important part of the analysis provided here, as I explain below.

This thesis sets out an ideology which follows the motto "money is power", and shows how this relates to the dominant value of personal autonomy. Whilst I explore the issues of money, power and personal autonomy in detail below, I point out here that this analysis allows us to explore many different areas of Jamaican life, and see the continuities across these different relationships.

Gender

The study of women in the Caribbean is largely confined to women's positions in the workforce and their role in the domestic realm. Nash and

⁶ Although I should point out that although white people came to drink in Whitehouse sometimes, I was the only white person to have lived in the community.

Fernandez-Kelly (1983) and Mohammed and Shepherd (1988) are both concerned about the impact of the global economy on women in the domestic and economic realms, particularly the effects on women's status in the labour force. The changing nature of the global economy is vital to understanding how women's lives in the Caribbean, as elsewhere, are being affected by changing labour forces. One of the most prominent changes is the introduction of export-processing zones (EPZs). These have been developed in countries where low wages can be paid and workers are easily expendable (Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983). Young women have been targeted for this work as they are often prepared to work under bad conditions out of necessity. But many women give up subsistence or agricultural work only to find themselves later unemployed with no way of returning to former opportunities (ibid.). Similarly, Mair argues that the development agenda in the Caribbean does not pay adequate attention to women, especially in agricultural development, despite the prevalence of women conducting this work (1988: 3). Thus there is a concern for the ways in which women in the Caribbean are marginalised in the workforce, have the highest rates of unemployment and are paid lower wages than men. As the responsibility of looking after the home and raising children also falls primarily on women, those in the lower classes often do not have the opportunities of education and this restriction is passed on to their children as education is unaffordable.

The subordinated position of women in the workforce and their primary role played in the domestic realm is, paradoxically, used to describe Caribbean society as matrifocal with pronounced male marginality (Momsen 1993). This paradox occurs due to a confusion over how power is constituted. Is there one kind of power? Does power shift in different contexts? One theoretical perception of women's power is through heading households. Household heads are individuals who make economic decisions and may also own the inhabited property which will be inherited by children. All literature on Caribbean kinship systems discusses the prevalence of female-headed households and the reasons for their existence (see Chapter One). This literature presumes that women seek to head households out of a desire for authority and independence, and that being a head of a household is

equated with having power. However, as Senior points out, most women are actually household heads by default, and moreover, even if a man is absent for long periods of time he still regulates the woman's behaviour (1991: 38). Thus a man's absence does not connote a lack of male authority or a prominence of female authority.

Households headed by single women in Jamaica often have more members who are unemployed in comparison to those headed by married women or women cohabiting in long term unions (Bolles 1983: 148, Bolles 1985: 77). This is attributed to the economic climate in Jamaica where the failing economy, especially the manufacturing industry, has had a direct impact on young women in terms of unemployment and a rising cost of living (*ibid.*) Thus Bolles shows that the presence of a contributing man allows women to be less dependent on extra work and in particular on the informal economy where there is very little security (*ibid.*). Others, however, may interpret this differently, perceiving dependency on the man as negative, and the time invested in extra work as allowing the woman greater economic freedom.

My aim in this thesis, is to show the different ways in which women do gain agency in a variety of contexts. By being self-employed, for example, or by acting as patrons in the community. What is most important in understanding women's (and men's) agency, however, is not to separate the domestic realm from the public or economic realm. Barrow (1993) touches on this when she argues that women farmers in Barbados consider working as a fundamental aspect of being a mother and Berleant-Schiller and Maurer (1993) discuss how women's non-economic work such as hair plaiting and washing clothes extend into the private sphere by forming networks of exchange of information and resources that span across the island. Yelvington (1995: 175) also bridges this gap in his discussion of flirting within a factory. Here men use sexuality and the practice of flirting with women in order to affirm and legitimise their power over women in the factory. In the following pages, I show how the economic and domestic realms are mutually constituted (*cf.* Strathern 1985). It is through the use of money and sexuality that individuals are able to gain agency and exercise influence over each other in gender relations.

Young women, especially, are able to use men's sexual desires to procure money and material goods in order to materially build up the home and gain agency. Moreover, men also use this female domain in order to gain agency themselves in their interactions with female tourists (see Chapter Four).

Power and the Caribbean

The different chapters of this thesis all elucidate the exertion of control in everyday life in Whitehouse. The concept of power is at the forefront of life in Jamaica - permeating many different relationships. Power in the Caribbean has mainly been analysed in two ways, in the existing literature. The most common analysis is the recognition of hegemonic forces throughout history, such as slavery, colonialism and post-colonialism (including financial restructuring of Caribbean economies, see Le Franc 1994; Looney 1987). Anthropologists have shown how these forces have had a direct effect on social organisation in the Caribbean, for example, inside the domain of work (Yelvington 1995) and of family life (Bolles 1985). Also prominent, although less so, is the study of power and politics among the subaltern. Yelvington (1995) studies power relations within a factory in Trinidad (and I will discuss his work in more detail below). However, there is little ethnographic work which explores the politics of daily life in the Caribbean, and especially in Jamaica. This thesis provides ethnographic detail of power relations within a group which is widely perceived as 'powerless' - a small Jamaican fishing community.

Hegemony

The concept of hegemony, discussed by Gramsci (1971), shows how the state, or other ruling groups, exercise control over civil society. For Gramsci, it is hegemonic forces that enable dominant groups to gain control over civil society by consent and not dictatorship. The masses, or subaltern groups, consent to social life imposed by the group, due to the prestige afforded by the dominant group which it gains through its position in production (1971: 12). Furthermore, at moments where

the masses are non-consenting, the state has hegemonic power through the law which it enforces to discipline groups (ibid.). Austin (1984) considers the concept of hegemony in Jamaica. She maintains that, according to Jamaican ideology, education is needed to gain power, and it is this ideology that keeps the working classes in a lower social and economic position. For although the working classes have produced their own ideologies of black consciousness, or Rastafarianism, for example, these have not changed the position of the working classes. Thus it is the value placed on education in the hegemonic ideology that maintains the educated rulers in a position of power over the uneducated working class (Austin 1984: xx-xxi).

My own study of Whitehouse – a 'working class' community – also shows how education is seen as a means of upward mobility (Chapter Three), and a marker of the middle classes. However, I argue that the ideology of "money is power", has greater dominance in people's lives and in their views on how one becomes powerful. All politicians and government workers, successful businessmen and lawyers, for example, are perceived to hold power due to their possession of money. Whilst some may have achieved their positions through education, the issue of how people achieve such positions is secondary to the fact that, in the end, they attain access to money and have been active in obtaining it. Therefore, it is also thought that all an individual needs in order to obtain power, is money. As formal education did not provide the way to gain power for many in Whitehouse, individuals frequently sought it by other means. This thesis discusses these different ways that individuals obtain power and control, particularly through money.

Power, however, is not simply a hegemonic force, or isolated in ideologies. Austin's (1984) study of power in two communities in Jamaica, in so far as it focuses on dominant ideologies, is thus limited. She does not show how power is actually practised, both between and within communities, and does not indicate how power is practically resisted.

Power and Resistance

Following Foucault's (1977, 1980) view of power, I also believe a much wider view of power relations needs to be adopted. Rather than seeing power as something which some people possess and others do not, power is something which is inherent in the exercise of all relations (Foucault 1977: 26, cf. Yelvington 1995: 14-15). In this view, power is not something which is always issued from the top down – for example, in the form of a dominant ideology issued forth from the state, or of patron client relationships which exists through political parties in Jamaica, - but is distributed throughout all levels of society (ibid.: 307). In this way, power can be a part of all relationships, and existing in various forms and guises. Moreover, where there is power, there is also resistance, which can be equally multiplex (Foucault 1980: 141).

Foucault's perception of an omnipresent power has been criticised for its lack of attention to agency, and in particular, for its lack of attention to individual intent and interest (Merquior 1991: 111-2). Anthropologists, however, have produced a number of studies which look at these aspects ethnographically, and on the side of both, those exerting power and those resisting it. Scott (1985) shows how peasants exerted everyday forms of resistance, which passed generally unnoticed in previous studies which were looking for all-out rebellions or revolutions. Scott's everyday forms of resistance are rarely organised or co-ordinated, by contrast they include such actions as foot-dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, and sabotage (ibid.: xvi).

Scott argues that although these acts of resistance do not necessarily bring down those who exert power over peasants, such as the state or middle men, peasants can achieve small and immediate gains. Moreover, the steady undermining of those in power can produce changes to state policies in the long term (1985: 33). In Whitehouse, power is undermined in multiple ways. This can be directed against individuals, such as patrons or employers, or more generally, as for example, objections to the marginal position individuals might find themselves in. In sexual relationships, for example, women use the ideology that men take pride in having sex with many women (and see this as a physical need) to construct

a weakness in men. Women have relationships with more than one man at a time, undermining the control any one man has over them. This is not necessarily an attack on the particular man a woman has a relationship with, but can also be expanded to the general power of men over women⁷.

Yelvington's (1995) excellent ethnography is also concerned with the relations of power and resistance within a Trinidadian factory. In discussing for example, how workers are coerced into working overtime with poor pay and little option to refuse, Yelvington wants to make clear the processes and structures within the factory (and history) that tend to maintain the advantages of the powerful (Yelvington 1995: 13). In this context, those in positions of exerting power control the resources of the environment, that is, the production process and its arrangements (*ibid.*). Yelvington discusses the different ways in which power is manifested in the factory: relational, structural, definitional, historical, and cultural (*ibid.*: 15). But within these different areas or forms, power is treated by Yelvington in a linear fashion. For example, as one entity gains power, the other party in the relation can only be weakened in their position, it is a 'tug-of-war' (*ibid.*: 16). This view of power relations is similar to what Foster called the 'Image of Limited Good' (1965). Foster argued that within peasant communities, 'good things', including power, are believed to exist in finite and limited quantity, where one person can improve their position only at the expense of others (*ibid.*: 296-7). In Yelvington's factory, any gains in accruing power by the workers, would mean diminished power for the owners (1995: 16). Foster's argument is criticised, however, for its lack of scope to allow for social change, and to a degree this is also the case for Yelvington. Caught in a historical and structural system, workers are unable to change their situation.

To a degree, Yelvington is limited in his discussion of power and resistance as he is constrained by the context of his study – the factory. The factory environment does provide a limited amount of resources and space in which individuals can exert and resist power. My thesis however, whilst exploring

⁷ Within Dancehall music - the music of the lower classes, women also make statements about men not being as powerful as they think. Songs such as "worthless boy" describe men as being inadequate in supporting women both sexually and financially, thus undermining their masculinity and encouraging more control by women in relationships.

working relations, follows persons beyond this context. It is in these relations that we are able to see how power is not perceived simply in terms of resistance. The environment is not as 'contained' as the factory, but instead individuals perceive a variety of ways to assert personal power. Therefore, those in positions of subordination can pursue agency and control, they are not always simply being subordinate and resisting power. Sometimes agency is gained in relationships over those who normally wield power over them, and sometimes it is by finding new avenues of power and people to manipulate or trick. This does not mean that those who are generally in positions of subordination, such as members of the working class community I lived in, are able to transform all relations they find themselves in. They are, after all, still constrained by hegemonic forces defining blacks, poor communities, women, education etc. and generally remain in the socio-economic positions they were born in (although some 'poor' have become very 'rich' – as I explore in Chapter Three).

What is apparent though, is that autonomy is not boundless. Individuals are not separated from society as an autonomous group, neither are they outside the physical and ideological power of the state. Although bribery does exist, individuals are generally under the jurisdiction of the law. Taxes are paid on income, land and other property. Licenses are also bought to operate businesses and access the sea, as well as operating vehicles. These kinds of material links are common between groups or classes throughout the world and the state or government, and support the dominance of the state as a ruling body.

However, whilst other marginal groups, such as the Roma in Hungary, fight for political self-governance (Kovats 1998) or Australian aborigines attempt to protect their autonomy from bureaucracy (Kapferer 1995), the marginal in Jamaica do not aim for such independence from the state. In fact, the marginal are already supposed to be represented in and supported by the government, which is Jamaican and does have black ministers. Thus autonomy is not sought in relation to political power from the state, but rather to be personally experienced in the relationships of everyday life. In Whitehouse, conflict with the government was not based on a desire to be more independent from it. That is not to say that

dissatisfaction was not expressed though, at the lack of help given to the poor by both past and present governments. People were unhappy with the levels of poverty plaguing the island and expressed this through discussions within their communities, and individuals around the island often wrote letters to the press or made comments on radio chat shows. More violent responses could also be found, such as public protest and rioting. Thus, governmental authority was not rejected but individuals believed that the power and resources owned by the state should be distributed effectively among the poor.

Paradoxically the values of personal autonomy are maintained alongside values of social obligations. This is most evident in the context of kin relations. Kin relations stand in contrast to other relationships. Whilst sexual relationships, for example, can be considered temporary or for short-term gain, and thus open for political use, kin relations are not regarded in such a way. Parents, children, siblings and wider kin are obligated to support one another as each has means and need. Money and goods are shared in domestic networks, as is emotional support. Women, for example, often look after their siblings' (male and female) children or their grandchildren, while the child's parents work, even if this means raising them over a period of time in their own home. Within this domain, personal autonomy is ideologically rejected, as this would have negative effects on other kin members. For example, if a man chose not to support his elderly parents or single sisters with children, they would suffer from a lack of income in the family. This would go against the ideology of supporting one's kin in the long term.

On closer examination, however, autonomy is at times sought within kinship relations. At these moments, individuals attempt to dissolve obligations; this is often the case if they become wealthy and do not wish to share their new income. Others may fight over family land or the possession of goods. Furthermore, the equality that is valued between kin members is also rejected through relations of social obligation. Those that consistently provide for others, such as parents for their children, are accorded authority and ought to be respected.

Apparent contradictions between valuing personal autonomy and maintaining social obligations are discussed by Abu-Lughod (1986). Abu-Lughod

describes how the Awlad 'Ali express strong sentiments about autonomy and equality but also maintain hierarchical relations within the community and between kin. She explains that for the Awlad 'Ali, the ideologies of honour and modesty, which form the basis of a moral hierarchy, rationalise social inequality (1986: 33). Relations within the family are not perceived in terms of the dominant and subordinated but the dependent and autonomous. Thus authority is wielded out of a sense of care, affection, and protection (ibid.: 81-2). Abu-Lughod argues that positions of authority are precarious due to the ambivalence of their station within the values of autonomy. Therefore the dominant need to embody the moral virtues of honour and modesty in order to maintain status and mask inequality.

In Whitehouse, one might argue, a similar situation prevails. Within kin relations, individuals hold authority over others when they provide for them. In most situations this is a parent, but it can also be a grandparent, or uncle or wider kin. Yet this authority is not perceived as a violation of the ideological equality that kin relations have. Within this context, providers are perceived as "looking out" for the interests of the whole family, and are not exerting control over subordinates. But to what extent can it be said that kin relations are significantly different to non-kin relations? There is an ambivalence in these relations which contrast with the official ideology of autonomy; this suggests that they may be not so different. Providers can and do use their position of authority to dominate others. Furthermore, stories of incest between step-fathers and daughters, or uncles and nieces were fairly common, as were arguments over the expectations placed upon individuals for accepting support from kin.

Inversions and Agency

Ortner (1995) argues that ethnographic studies of power and resistance need to be more contextual and thicker in ethnographic detail. She states that while resistance is understood as everyday behaviour and not just institutional, acts of resistance are still ethnographically 'thin'. These limitations occur as lives are not explored outside the realm of resistance. Local lives, local systems, family conflicts and individuals' own desires for power need greater exploration (ibid.: 177). Ortner

argues that in order to interpret resistant responses as not simply ad hoc or mechanical, the cultural values and beliefs of the subaltern - the meaning behind acts - need to be uncovered (ibid.: 180). This thesis takes Ortner's argument to heart and explores how individuals who are subaltern seek and fulfil their own desires for power. Through looking at the different relationships which make up everyday life, individuals are captured ethnographically as actively seeking agency.

Agency in Whitehouse is pursued through the cultural values of personal autonomy and, simultaneously, by controlling others. Power, in Whitehouse, is understood to mean being in a position where others cannot tell one what to do, or in a position of exerting some amount of control over another person. By valuing personal autonomy over, for example, ownership of a factory, power can be sought in many different areas of life and agency can also be gained by those in subordinated positions. Whilst individuals such as the *wutless* (worthless) people (see Chapter Three) have little control over their own life, they still perceive themselves as able to pursue agency as they live outside many of the restrictions placed on other individuals, such as those who have to work hard in the formal economy or are under obligation to financially support family or friends (see Day et al. 1999 for similar experiences elsewhere). In other words, the constitution of personhood in Whitehouse is not simply the resistance of powerful forces. In fact, if all an individual is able to do is resist other powers, then this constructs the resistor as powerless themselves. Cultural discourse in Whitehouse does not follow this dichotomy. Rather, power is perceived through control of the self – ownership of the self. In order to display control, individuals are protective of themselves in appearance and relationships, and are active in being enterprising. As persons attempt to obtain money to better their status, control is displayed simultaneously.

In her study of nationalism in the Palestinian Intifada, Jean-Klein (2001) describes Palestinian practices which on one level could be classed as a form of everyday resistance, as in fact being 'duplex': whilst individuals are in this way resisting Israeli control, they are simultaneously producing a hegemonizing self-nationalism. Again, individuals do not only resist power (and transform themselves), but at the same time exert a transformative influence on others even

against their will. The same actions can have multiple, even morally opposing, objectives and effects (ibid.: 87-90).

It is the 'duplexity' of agency (Jean-Klein 2001) that is missing from studies of power in the Caribbean. Acts of self-control in Whitehouse, are not practised solely to place limitations on those who are perceived to be powerful. For example, individuals do not leave their present employment where they believe they are 'being used', just so that the 'boss' no longer has the ability to tell them what to do. On leaving, they are also making a statement, based on shared knowledge, that the employee perceives themselves as 'better' than how they were being treated, and in effect, a better person than their employer. Agency is pursued by the employee, through the act of leaving, as this displays the fact that they will not put up with bad treatment. This agency is transformative for the individual in gaining power for themselves, as well as limiting that of others. Perhaps the most common practice to invert power in Whitehouse is opportunist begging (Chapter Five). Here, individuals took opportunities to ask other people for money, to 'help them' or buy them a drink or some food. Within this interaction, both parties shared the knowledge that the beggar may actually have money of their own at the time, and was simply asking in order to con the giver out of their money. If the giver was to succumb to the social pressure, he or she could be taken for a fool if the beggar was not so much in need as he appeared. Furthermore, the beggar would have gained the upper hand over the giver.

Money

Throughout all the different chapters of this thesis, I show that money is integral to all the relationships I discuss. Interestingly, the use and perceptions of money in Jamaica are distinct from my own society, in the United Kingdom, yet both are firmly rooted in capitalism and a market system that has been developing for centuries. In Jamaica full emancipation in 1838 marked the beginning of a capitalist system as workers were able to *sell* their labour, and even throughout the slavery plantation system, money was obtained through the informal marketing system (Mintz 1974). This means that Jamaican society has not just recently been

changed into a monetary society but has in fact been rooted in money since the plantation system. This is different to other anthropological studies on money which tend to look at how social relations change in 'traditional' societies once money is introduced into an economy (cf. Bloch and Parry 1989: 12-13, see for example, Bohannan 1959).

Money in a modern, capitalist society is thought to have a profound effect on relations between people. As each individual is able to receive money for their labour, which is independently valued, people do not need to exchange goods directly with each other. According to Simmel (1978, 1997) this process creates a system with a proliferation of third party involvement, such as delivery men and technological mediators. In the past, he argues, individuals exchanged goods directly, with a small number of people, creating personal and dependent ties. However, within the monetary system, individuals come into contact with a great number of people whose identity is formed by their economic role but who are anonymous as persons (Simmel 1997: 21). Individuals were perceived in terms of their function and not of their personality. Thus, a delivery man is seen purely in terms of his role. He could in fact be easily replaced by another individual; he himself is not important to us (Simmel 1978: 298). This creates an independence between people which Simmel believes to be liberating. For although the monetary system creates a greater dependency on the number of people involved, it decreases the personal degree of the relationship, creating personal liberty (*ibid.*: 295). Bloch and Parry (1989: 8-9) make a similar point, in that it is within 'commodity societies' where commodities are alienable and people are independent (Gregory 1982 in Bloch and Parry *ibid.*) that money is seen as an impersonal item, something which would be inappropriate as a gift. Again, this is due to the separation, rather than integratedness, of the economy from society.

Relationships within Whitehouse, however, do not conform to this pattern set out by Simmel or Bloch and Parry. Whilst individuals do participate in exchange relationships with anonymous individuals, such as the person who serves them in the supermarket or behind the counter of the bank, relationships within the community which are based on economic trade are in fact also based on the person

behind the role. There is no such separation of person and economic activity. For example, there were two bars on the fishing beach in Whitehouse run by women. Most individuals in the community held very strong views of these women - whether they were "facety" (rude), or self-promoting, untrustworthy or "nasty" (unclean). This influenced where people would buy their drinks. Many people would adamantly refuse to shop at one of these places because of the perceived low moral worth of the women.

Whilst economic exchange in a modern society is considered to revolve around the production and consumption of goods, the exchange of money between individuals in Whitehouse was not always based on the exchange of a commodity. Thus the 'economy' in Whitehouse is not to be thought of as simply the production and consumption of goods. The different chapters in this thesis show the different scenarios in which money passes from one individual to another. What matters in the process of giving is, in fact, the person. Money is extremely symbolic of the relationship between individuals and indeed constitutive of personhood. In other words, how a person earns their money, the amount of money an individual is perceived to have, and importantly, what an individual does with their money all form aspects of the constitution of a person. Thus when an individual is economically dependent on another, there is a sense of ownership of the person. This is why, I believe, most people prefer to work for themselves if possible.

Moreover, it is money that enables individuals to form and terminate relationships with others. For example, in Chapter Four I discuss relationships between men and women. Within these relationships women evaluate the 'goodness' of a man in terms of how much money he has given her and how this money has been turned into commodities for the home. Thus, in order to have many girlfriends, and build up a masculine image, men also need a lot of money. Again, in Chapter Three I show how the sharing of money constitutes true 'bredren' relationships within male friendship groups.

Personhood then, is constituted through the pursuit of money and it is this property of a person that enables individuals to have self-control and ownership. Throughout this thesis, I show how the use of money or the withholding of it,

allows individuals to gain agency over others. Furthermore, since asking for money from strangers is socially unacceptable, money is acquired through known individuals, both those within the community, and familiar visitors. Thus it is the closeness of relationships that actually enables agency to be gained through the use of money. Therefore whereas Simmel argues that money causes relationships to be impersonal, due to the separateness of a person and their economic activity or role, in Whitehouse the opposite actually occurs. Money plays the most significant role in relationships which are close, and it is in fact through the transactions of money among known persons that autonomy is exerted. Not, as Simmel argues, because relationships are impersonal, but because they are personal, money can be used to gain agency over others, which in Jamaica is personally liberating.

The use of money in short-term transactions, which are often competitive and individualistic, are considered by Bloch and Parry to be subordinated to the long term reproduction of the social order, the wider community or society (1989: 26). One way of looking at the transactions discussed in this thesis is that although they gain agency for the individual in the short-term, they also constitute a system whereby the poorer members of society are able to survive a very expensive livelihood that exists in Jamaica and to gain a sense of autonomy to boot. However, Hart argues that in subjugating the short-term to the long term, Bloch and Parry are creating a hierarchy in which the value of money is secondary to securing society's continuity (2000: 272). This brings up two issues that are important in Jamaica. One is the value of money as separate from society, and the other is the issue of time. As I have stated above, and continue to show in the following pages, money and the economy are not a separate area of life in Jamaica. Therefore, the value of money does not come second to another order of society which allows its continuity. In Jamaica there is a saying that "money runs things" which is the essence of Jamaican life. A friend once told me that he loved two things; "me love money and God, but me love money more". It is the continuous flow of these momentary transactions and the incredibly high value that is attributed to money that provides the continuity of life in Whitehouse.

Related to this issue of continuity is time. Throughout this thesis I draw upon the work of Day et al (1999), where different examples are given of marginal people showing a commitment to 'living in the present'. Rejecting a long term orientation, these people are able to disengage themselves from institutions or powerful groups by placing themselves and their momentary transactions at the forefront of social life (ibid.: 2). This thesis also shows that by 'living in the present', or being orientated to the short-term, individuals in Whitehouse are able to gain control and autonomy, again through the use of money. For example, men often exert their independence by spending their money quickly rather than rationing or saving it. To do the latter would place long term obligations upon men and restrict their autonomy and decision making.

Whilst much of this thesis shows how a short-term orientation can be used as a political vehicle for individuals (cf. Day et al 1999: 18-21), in contrast, I also explore a long term orientation which is present within kinship relations (Chapter One). In this domain, the political use of money and time is rejected, as kin members are considered equal in status and are expected to place collective interests above individual ones. Day et al also show how the household can be a sphere where living in the present is limited (1999: 14). Marriage, the birth of children, and even responsibility to dead ancestors can create long term relationships of dependence that are not found elsewhere in society (ibid.: 17).

Miller (1991, 1994) also considers short and long term orientations as a defining feature of Trinidadian culture. He calls these two perspectives 'transience' and 'transcendence'. The Trinidadian carnival is an example of transience and an orientation to the short-term. Here, the moment, the event, and spontaneity are celebrated, whilst the long-term orientation of obligation and institutional control is rejected (Miller 1991: 327-332, Miller 1994: 113). Miller discusses this dualism in other areas of life including Christmas, consumption, and kinship. This dualism is useful to understanding Trinidadian society, but there remain some differences in comparison to Jamaican society. Whilst Miller argues that Afro-Trinidadians, for the most part, reject the long-term orientation of family and family obligation, in Jamaica, as noted above, this is not the case. Kinship and the household is a domain

where a long-term orientation is present, and is found in the institution of family land, and the continuous sharing of goods and money. I discuss this more fully in Chapter One.

Ethnographic Location

Jamaica at the time of my fieldwork in 1998-9 had an estimated population of 2,580,000 (STATIN 2000). I conducted my fieldwork in Montego Bay, the capital of St. James parish. This is the second largest city in Jamaica and is famous for its tourist attractions. The tourist industry is still by far the greatest provider of foreign exchange in Jamaica. In Montego Bay there are a range of tourist facilities from large 'all-inclusive' hotels⁸ to small hotels, a number of restaurants and bars, and various attractions such as the coral reefs and the white sandy beaches. Tourists come all year round; peak seasons were in the winter and the American 'Spring Break'. Although Montego Bay is a thriving city with a range of professional, semi-professional, skilled and semiskilled workers, the tourist industry dominates the area in terms of the workforce and the landscape.

The community in which I lived, Whitehouse, was on the outskirts of Montego Bay. A 10-15 minute taxi ride away from the city, residents used Montego Bay to go to the market, supermarkets, banks, shops, to visit people, and also to work. Whitehouse was also firmly placed in the tourist strip. Being on the coast, it lay in the middle of a procession of tourist beaches and hotels, that stretched south and west towards the city and east along the north coast. The community was marked at the ends by two walls. One dividing the community from a small quiet tourist beach, and the other separating it from a large all-inclusive hotel.

Despite its position in the hub of tourism, Whitehouse was not a tourist centre. Tourists only ever stumbled across the community by accident and would perhaps have a drink at one of the bars. One aspect to this was its isolation. The road on which Whitehouse was situated was a dead end and so did not receive any

⁸ In order to stay in these hotels, tourists would pay an all inclusive fee through a travel agent in their home country. This fee would then include all their food, drink and entertainment as well as their accommodation for the duration of their stay.

through traffic.⁹ As the hotel next door was an 'all inclusive', tourists rarely ventured outside the compound. If they did, it was to take a guided tour to one of the waterfalls or rum estates, rather than to mix with local people.

Whitehouse was established as a community in the 1940s, when residents who were previously scattered around a wider area, were moved to the present location in order to build a runway for a new military airport (now the Donald Sangster International Airport). At that point, just a few families moved onto the land that was mainly bush area. The community is now spread over approximately 1km². It is divided in the middle by a public playing field and the two separated areas are referred to as Top and Bottom Whitehouse. My thesis, although a study of the total area, concentrates on Bottom Whitehouse as this was the larger area. Whitehouse now has approximately 260 residents including children, and 82 houses.

Housing in the area is quite densely formed with some plots of land containing a number of houses just feet apart. The area immediately around each house is also household property. This area is where women wash and hang clothes and may also cook and store equipment if no kitchen is present inside the house. The total area of the house and space is referred to as 'the yard' and is sometimes physically displayed by placing corrugated iron around the perimeter.

Whitehouse has a strong history of fishing. The first residents to fish from the beach used small 'dug-out' canoes made from cotton trees. Men would normally fish alone, and would drop lines at night or pull fish traps during the day. At the time of my fieldwork however, there were no such canoes in use, although they were still used from other fishing beaches nearby. Fishermen now use fibreglass boats which require out-board engines. This also allowed a diversification of fishing, into trolling and 'ocean' fishing for marlin and mackerel. This fishing requires crews of two to three people.

Although Whitehouse was predominately seen as a fishing community, people engaged in a number of other kinds of work. Women mainly worked in the tourist industry in hotels and restaurants or as domestic workers. A few women ran

⁹ This road used to be the main thoroughfare from the coast into Montego Bay until a new road was created with the expansion of the Donald Sangster International Airport.

bars and shops in the area, which were often financed by men or their families (see Chapter One). Young men and women faced high rates of unemployment, as in the rest of Jamaica (Panton 1993). The lack of skills and education sufficient to enter the formal workforce, and a lack of capital sufficient to enter the informal economy (Anderson 1987: 163), prevented this group from working in professional roles.

The community had no school or church of its own. Young children attended a primary school in the neighbouring community, Flanker, and secondary school children went into Montego Bay itself. Some of the older women also attended church in Montego Bay on Sundays but although Christianity is the dominant religion in Jamaica, few people were regular church-goers in Whitehouse. The women that did attend frequented non-denominational churches rather than the Pentecostal churches which are generally popular amongst working class women in Jamaica (Austin-Broos 1997).

What used to be a quiet fishing community with a few houses and families has now turned into a highly populated area that many consider to be deteriorating socially and environmentally. Physically, much of the natural environment has been destroyed to allow for building of new houses, including mangrove areas which are necessary for fish spawning. The immediate sea area is unclean due to the amount of fish waste that is thrown in after fish are sold and from sewage and waste water that comes from the houses.

More significant, however, is the rise in population. Ownership of the land is highly valued in Whitehouse and can only be inherited through kinship (see Chapter One). For many years the land was populated by the original families, with children sometimes staying in Whitehouse whilst others migrated to Kingston or even the UK or USA. Generally, those who received educational qualifications moved away to obtain more professional work and better prospects of social mobility. More recently, however, more people, especially young men, have been moving into the area and renting rooms. This has begun to change the area from one that was firmly based in kinship ties, to an area where people come and 'squat' on land. That is, they build houses on land that they do not have official title to. This 'ad hoc' building has become problematic in Kingston and Montego Bay

especially, as large communities are often quickly built up before infrastructure and sanitation facilities can be provided. Such communities often have high unemployment rates as people move into the area to claim 'free' land before they find work. These areas also become areas of high crime and drug trafficking.

Whitehouse has also been influenced by the burgeoning drug trade. Whilst marijuana is socially accepted as a drug in Jamaica and in Whitehouse, cocaine is not. It is widely believed that people who become addicted to cocaine become desperate. Their 'minds' become 'out of control' and they will do anything, even kill their own family to feed their habit. Many men in Whitehouse are considered to be dependent on cocaine, and women too have turned to prostitution through drug addiction.

Structure of thesis

This thesis explores how personal autonomy and self-ownership is sought in everyday life in Whitehouse. I explore a variety of contexts and relationships in order to show the different ways in which this pursuit is grounded. The experience of achieving personal autonomy, even momentarily, is tied to the building of agency in Jamaica. Thus I explore transactions which show how those in marginal positions are also able to exert control in their daily lives.

Chapter one explores kinship relations, in particular, how the exchange of money and goods constitutes kin relationships within and between households in Whitehouse and outside. Significantly, it is through the repetition of these practises that kin relationships differ from other relations. Individuals within a kinship group are to be considered equal and group orientated, showing a contrast to relationships within the community. These relationships are orientated to the long term, which is exemplified through the inheritance of family land.

Chapter Two discusses work. It is in this context that the issue of dependency is most highlighted in Jamaican life. Working for other people can be constraining of individual freedom and is a domain where one can be taken advantage of by others. Thus having one's own business, or working for oneself, is highly desirable. The informal market offers this element of autonomy best, and

although wages may be low, working in such contexts as fishing, is often preferable to working in the formal economy.

Chapter three focuses on the use of money and display of 'self' in public, as well as exploring status hierarchies created within the community. Exploring the ideology of "money is power" I show how individuals are able to display self-control and control over others in the community through money. The use of money is combined with machismo for male social advancement. I also show how money can have the alternative objective of defining friendship and constituting real 'bredren' relationships. The pressure to display wealth and distribute money in order to further autonomy is also discussed in relation to the dangers of being 'out of control' and losing one's social status.

Chapter Four explores the relationships between men and women. In this chapter I discuss how both men and women attempt to be enterprising and exert control over one another within relationships. This includes how men restrict women's behaviour and how young women use sexuality in order to gain autonomy themselves. I also analyse the creative ways in which men are able to display self-ownership through relationships with tourist women in ways they cannot do with Jamaican women.

Chapter Five shows how short-term transactions are personally liberating for those in the most marginal positions. Those identified as *wutless* or even 'poor' are able to gain momentary agency through the process of opportunist begging. Drawing on dominant ideologies of giving to the poor, marginal individuals are able to trick money out of more wealthy people and at the same time conserve their own money. This process also brings to light how the distribution of money in Whitehouse is a system that draws on aspects of both sharing and exchange.

To conclude, this thesis draws together the marginal position that individuals in Jamaica are found in, with the control that they exert in their own lives. The constraints placed upon individuals are both economic, due to levels of poverty and national debt, and ideological, due to the persistent values of the

dominant groups. However, agency can still to be exerted through the value placed on personal autonomy and the exertion, subversion and inversion of control.

The community that I lived in and studied is unique in some ways. Although an urban community, the institution of family land remains, which is rare due to the lack of space in urban centres. There is a sense of Whitehouse as a community, where people are perceived as 'Whitehouse people'. This has largely developed from the continued use of the sea. But in many ways, this community is typical of many others around Montego Bay. Other places also include migrants and have comparable levels of poverty. Most significantly, the kinds of practices that I discuss throughout this thesis are also conducted in other fishing beaches and communities. People I met outside Whitehouse also shared their experiences with me of seeking control and warding off encroaching tricksters.

Chapter One

Households, Family and Domestic Networks

Dexter was a forty-year-old fisherman who lived alone. He was the eldest of five children and had grown up in a small house with his father and step-mother. At sixteen he decided to leave his father's house and "look after himself". He worked in different trades until he finally settled on fishing as his main occupation. Dexter lived mainly at the fishing beach and had little contact with his parents, siblings or other relatives who lived elsewhere in Montego Bay and abroad. He had not maintained contact with his family since leaving his father's home as a teenager, although sometimes he said he would "go look" for them. This meant that he would go to his father's house and see those who were there. Dexter cared for his youngest brother and sister the most. They were said to 'get along good with each other' and so would give each other food and money when Dexter visited. The family that had grown up in his father's house was said not to be "good to one another" as a whole, and this was shown in the lack of help of its members for one another. Dexter described his family, the relationships to each other, and his relationship to them.

They are no good. They don't help one another even though they live in the same yard. None of them give money to my father. If go and see them I have to have money to give them, they are going to expect it, or else they will say I am broke and have come looking for them for money. I have an aunt in the country, every time I go and visit her she thinks I have come looking for money. She greets me still, but she's not happy.

Dexter described the normative values of his family as based on the sharing of resources, particularly money. Relationships were tense where this was not practised adequately, as motives for social contact were met with suspicion. Alternatively, his relationships with his younger siblings were congenial as they looked after each other. It is these values and practices that I explore in this chapter,

illuminating the basis of kinship and also the similarities and differences between this sphere and non-kin relationships.

Households

The household has been classed as the domestic unit or group in the Caribbean. It is defined as a space where members of the unit 'habitually share a common shelter and food' (Smith 1956: 51; Smith 1962: 11) with a primary function to rear children (Herskovits and Herskovits 1947: 107; Smith 1956: 51). Shared space is considered the key factor in distinguishing individual households (Henriques 1953: 323-4). Residence was also a defining factor in household boundaries in Whitehouse. Members of a household would share the same house and rooms for sleeping and eating. Living in the same building did not automatically constitute a household, however, as some house owners rented out rooms in their house to individuals, mainly non-kin. In these situations tenants would commonly rent one room which had a separate entrance to the outside. Within the room they would have a bed and cooker, and would therefore cook, eat and sleep separately from those in the other part of the house. Thus the house would be divided into separate households. This was the case in 13 out of 59 houses in Whitehouse.

The composition of households predominated in early studies of the family in the Caribbean as households were found to be diverse in their organisation. As members of a household were principally kin, households were equated with being the family unit and were thus analysed as studies of 'the family'. However, household composition did not fit in with the idea of the 'nuclear' family household of mother, father and children. Households varied from single occupancy households to ones with parents and children, with one parent and children, grandparents and grandchildren, and couples with children where only one adult was parent to them.

Both Henriques (1973) and Clarke (1957) divided up the range of household formations into 'types' of family. Henriques defined four types of family form. The 'Christian family', 'faithful concubinage', 'maternal or grandmother family' and

'keeper family'. Within the 'Christian family' parents lived together with children and had strong Christian beliefs. They might also have been married but this was not always the case. These households were considered 'secure' as parents commonly stayed living together. In 'faithful concubinage households', couples lived together like married couples but relationships broke up more regularly. In 'grandmother households' the grandmother provided the function of the mother, being the member of the unit to raise the children. These households were normally found where the mother herself was young and inexperienced and so the grandmother took responsibility for looking after the child and raising it. The mother herself did not always live in the household. If she lived elsewhere it was found that mothers sometimes 'sent' for their children later on, once they were able to raise the children themselves. Within 'keeper families', couples lived together in temporary unions where the birth of children did not in any way change the relationship between parents, that is, make it any more secure. If parents lived together through the course of time they would become 'concubinage families' (Henriques 1973: 319-330).

Clarke (1957) identified six family types. Type 'A', the 'simple family' contained a man and woman with or without children, where children could also be 'adopted' (where one adult is not the parent) or non-kin. 'B' the extended family, similar to type 'A' but with more kin members including for example, parents' siblings or grandparents. Types 'C' and 'D' were 'denuded families' where the mother or father lived alone with children, but this could include extended family. 'Denuded families' were most commonly headed by single mothers. Type 'E' were single person households with no children. Type 'F' were sibling households.

A number of comparisons between these studies can be made. Both authors identified the relationships between parents as significant to household formation. This is also important to Smith (1962: 253). New households are formed as couples set up their own households to raise children. Often the couple will already have at least one child together before they set up their own household. Therefore couples do not cohabit primarily to be with each other, but to have their own household to rear children. However, the 'instability' of conjugal relationships and the

prominence of 'outside' relationships leads to the common occurrence of single parents or couples with one adult mothering or fathering children that are not theirs (Type C and D in Clarke 1957). Couples were not found to marry in their twenties and thirties and settle down together to raise a family. Rather, couples that married young often separated, whereas others simply moved in and out of relationships throughout their life. Women whose 'baby father's' were not working or were unable to economically provide for a new household, would stay living in their mothers' home. Alternatively, some women might choose to have a child but did not wish to live with the particular father. If the mother is young she might also prefer to stay at her family home and receive help and support from her mother and siblings to raise her child. Thus women of all ages were found to be living without a male partner but with their children and grandchildren. Others did have a male partner, though not necessarily the father to the children of the household.

These different household types could also be observed in Whitehouse. Using Clarke's (1957) classification, for example, five out of the six types were present. Type 'A' households with a mother, father and children consisted of parents commonly between the ages of twenty to forty. Winston and Nicky for example, were thirty-five and twenty-three respectively, they lived together and had an eight year old daughter. Another couple, Milton and his babymother were in their early thirties and had a nine year-old daughter. A younger couple who moved into Whitehouse from elsewhere, were in their twenties and had a small baby.

Type 'B' households were also prevalent. In households where a couple were over the age of sixty, three generations were often found to be living together. Tan Tan and his wife were in their early seventies. They lived with one of their sons and a daughter with her two children. Alvin and Pam in their sixties, had five children and three grandchildren in their household.

Types C and D were also found. In households where the father was not present, the mother was often still living with her own mother and other siblings, such as three of the children that lived with Alvin and Pam. Other women lived alone with their children. Natalie in her twenties had two daughters under six

years old. Her 'baby father' lived with her for a few years but then left her and moved to another area of the country. She no longer sees him. Dorrit has two teenage daughters. Their father lives in a household by himself in Whitehouse. They are no longer in a conjugal relationship. There was only one single father and children household in Whitehouse, although the mother was not strictly absent. Harry housed his two sons under ten but also children of the same mother that were not his own. In relationships where a couple had a child together but were not married, the parents are referred to as 'baby mother's' or 'baby father's'. His 'baby mother' had a daughter who was seventeen and a son who was ten who also lived with him. Harry came to live with and look after these children as the mother, Jennifer, had developed a serious drug habit and was not able to look after herself or others properly. She would stay out of the house a lot but return when necessary and did not live in any other household.

Type E households were dominated by men living alone. These men were mainly in their twenties and had moved into the area from outside. They had sought work in Montego Bay and found space to rent in Whitehouse. An old nightclub building housed six of these young men. The building had eleven small rooms which were cheap to rent and ideal for the young men who spent little time indoors and did not want to spend much money on rent. Other single men from Whitehouse had children who lived with their mothers elsewhere. Two single women also lived in the old nightclub. Both had family in Whitehouse. One simply preferred to have her own space and she did not have any children. The other had a small son but did not get along with the rest of her family (see below) and so lived in a room in the building even though there were very few facilities. There were no type F, sibling, households in Whitehouse.

Common to all households however is economic organisation and the consumption of food. All members of a household eat food in that household (although men may sometimes eat out 'on the road' or in town when they are socialising) and are economically linked, for example in buying food and contributing to household bills together.



Family relations and networks

More recently, early ethnographies of the domestic unit in the Caribbean have been criticised for equating the household with the family. Smith (1988) for example, conducted genealogical studies of the family in Jamaica and Guyana and showed that the family consisted of many members that did not live in the household. In defining the family, members are sometimes described purely as 'close' kin, that is, parents, children and siblings and other times equated with any relative, that is, cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and grandparents, many of whom do not live in the same household (Smith 1988: 42). Migration is an influencing feature of Caribbean life and also has to be incorporated into kinship studies. Smith argues that although individuals may live abroad they are still included as family. This is especially so for 'close' kin, that is the mother, father, sibling or child. Contact is relevant however, for in cases where there is little contact, individuals had difficulty remembering names of their exact relation but would still be known as family. Thus family members or relatives, may be regarded as living in the household, but also may live as far away as another country.

A prominent feature in the division of family from non-family relations is the idea of blood. 'In-laws' through marriage or long lasting conjugal relationships are generally not considered family, and individuals often divide up family according to their mother's side and father's side (ibid.: 46). This however did not include half-siblings. If a sibling shared a parent, normally the mother, they were still classed as family by parents and siblings (ibid.: 58). Yet although Smith clearly shows that the household is not the extent of the family in Jamaica, he himself says that new analytical categories are needed in order to avoid rigid definitions of kinship systems in the West Indies, and that can incorporate the flexibility of relationships found (ibid.: 176).

It is clear then that there is a distinction between the family and the household in the Caribbean. Many people can be described as family or relatives who do not share a common living space. Likewise though, shared activities of a household, cooking, sleeping and eating together can also be conducted with

individuals outside the household, family member or not. For example, Sallock was a man in his thirties. He was living alone, but his daughter lived in his parents' household where his mother raised her. He was not working but lived off fishing from time to time. Often he would visit his parents' house in order to eat. This was generally accepted, as he was a member of the family although he did not get along with his father. Sallock once had a lot of money and bought a fishing boat engine in order to go fishing with his brother who owned a boat. However, he spent all his money on women and ended up having to sell the engine and thus lose his livelihood. Sallock's father was not happy that, at over thirty years old, he had wasted his money and expected to be supported by his parents at his age. Thus Sallock did not visit his parent's house too often, yet despite the conflict and the fact that he lived in a separate household, he was still able to receive food when he visited.

Non-kin were also found to cook and share food together. Blacklip was a twenty four year old single mother. She was a 'facety' young woman, often described as rude and 'no good' for she was also said to be a homegirl (Chapter Four). She wanted to go out a lot at night and would spend what little money she had on clothes for herself rather than things for her young son. Her family disapproved of her behaviour, and since they were all said not to be able to "get along", she did not live with them. She rented a small room in the old nightclub since, although it was lacking in facilities, it was cheap and Blacklip did not have a job. Blacklip had few dealings with her family but she did have a woman, Shirley, whom she considered a good friend.

Shirley had a conflictual relationship with her own family. She was in her forties and had a boyfriend in his twenties. Her family did not approve of the relationship as she was an older woman and it was inappropriate to 'fool around' with young men. Older women especially should show respectful behaviour by living a quiet life, staying within the yard and not creating opportunities for gossip. Later on in my fieldwork Shirley moved from her household into the old nightclub with her boyfriend. She had a dubious position in her original home as she had moved into the house from outside Whitehouse through a conjugal relationship.

The man she had moved in with had since died, but his adult children still lived in the house and took on the ownership. Shirley was able to stay there while she was still on good terms with his children. However, as she was not mother to the children of the house nor had she raised the children in any way, for they were already adults when she moved in, she was not in any position to continue living there (see below). Once the children and Shirley started to disagree about her lifestyle, she had to move out.

Shirley and Blacklip gave each other money and food and they would also buy food and cook and eat together. The single men in the old nightclub and other rented places also cooked and ate together sometimes. These men did not have any family in Whitehouse. Thus since Shirley and Blacklip and the single men did not have other household members to cook and eat with, these individuals formed social ties with others in the same situation and conducted household activities together.

Yanagisako (1979: 165) argued that, since activities that are implicitly or explicitly associated with the household are sometimes conducted with people who do not live together, some anthropologists consider it more useful to think of those who conduct such activities as domestic groups or units rather than households. If domestic activities or functions are divided into two core areas, one being food production and consumption, and the other social reproduction, namely child-bearing and rearing (Yanagisako 1979: 166), then terms such as the family or household which are used to describe these actions and functions will be inappropriate if they are actually conducted outside the family or household unit.

In the Caribbean, anthropological attention has shifted from the household and residence as constituting kin relations or the domestic unit to an analysis of the social network. This network is one of ties between relatives who exchange and share economic resources and help in economic activities and the rearing of children (Olwig 1993: 161). The roles of these networks are parent-child relationships, where the parent feeds, clothes and raises the child. The child is then expected to contribute back to the parent through help and economic support as soon as they are able. The parent is most often the child's mother but where the

father has contributed economically, and perhaps socially, the child is also obligated to repay them. In cases where a grandparent or aunt or even a non-relative has raised a child, the obligation remains with the child to whoever brought them up (ibid.). Siblings and other members of the family also help practically and support one another in the household and across households. Therefore the network of relatives built through practices of exchange is what constitutes the domestic field.

While the family receives concrete expression in the groups of people who belong to a yard, the notion of the family is not based on a residential group of people, but on a network of relatives, who recognise their family ties by giving each other various goods as well as mutual assistance in the daily chores of life (Olgwig 1993: 162).

In Whitehouse, the giving of goods and assistance to others was first of all expected of all members of a household. Those who were working shared their wages with all in the household as some members were in employment whereas others were not. Women who were not working relied on their siblings and / or parents especially if they had children to feed and expected little economic support from the father. Sharing meant that all working members of the household contributed money towards food for the house, which normally the mother or grandmother would buy in the market at the weekends - a practice which Sahlins (1974) calls 'pooling'. Everyone was also expected to pay equally towards the bills for gas, electricity and water.

Most money was given to one individual in the household. They would buy the food and pay the bills in town. Individuals within households who undertook such economic organisation were often referred to as household heads. The household head has been defined in different ways in the West Indies. M. G. Smith (1962) considers the household head to be the 'principal' member of the household and usually owns the homestead or the land the house is on. They are responsible for the economic maintenance of the household and the socialisation of children. Smith (1956) considers the role of the household head to be less defined. He considers male and female household heads to have different roles. Male heads, who are normally between 40 and 50 years old, should maintain property and act

as decision makers. Female heads are present when men are not. They are normally older and are widowed or have had a common-law union (ibid.: 1956: 61-5). In Whitehouse both older men and women could be considered household heads. Men were the primary economic contributor to the household and were also decision makers on large household decisions. Yet mothers or grandmothers without men also had these roles. Where men were present, women also had control over the day to day running and economic decisions of the house. Whether men were present or not, these women would organise the weekly consumption of the household and often the bills.

But money was not always directed to one person for redistribution. For example, Charmane was a young woman with a two-year-old son and a small baby. She lived in a household with her mother, Cherry, her brother Miguel, her brother's daughter and her own children. She was not working but both her brother and mother had small businesses, including the buying and selling of fish. The father of her children, Gussy, who was a fisherman, originally came from outside Whitehouse but rented a room in the old nightclub. Miguel gave money to his mother as and when he earned it, and between them they bought food for the household. Gussy provided for his children, but the money he gave Charmane for this was often spent on other necessities for the children, and so Cherry often provided the food for her grandchildren. As Charmane also wanted extra food snacks or luxury items for herself, she would often ask her brother for extra money as he was earning the most in the household, and he would give it to her when his business was going well.

Furthermore, economic exchange was not limited to the household. Family members who lived outside the household were also included in networks of exchange. Such family members consisted of those with whom one had contact, either regularly or rarely. Often they would have provided some kind of support to the family or household in the past. For example, Tyrone lived in England as did many of his siblings. His parents had both died but his grandmother was still alive and living in a community near Whitehouse with her grandson, Tyrone's brother. Tyrone's brother intermittently worked in restaurants but did not have a steady

income. Tyrone received a message one day that his grandmother needed money and he was expected to send her some. Tyrone had had little contact with his grandmother since he was young, but as she needed help, he and his other siblings were expected to support her out of respect for the fact that she had helped rear them when they were very young.

Visits by family members who lived within and outside Whitehouse were most often accompanied by some form of economic exchange. If the visiting member had some kind of food business, such as growing yams, then they would always bring some to give to their relatives. Those in Whitehouse would take fish when they visited relatives who lived elsewhere. If relatives were commercially successful they would be expected to give money. But not only would relatives visit in order to give something, they would also visit family because they wanted a food item or some money.

This network of relatives within and between households that is continuously maintained through the exchange of money, consumer goods, and service is what I call a domestic network. Each person will have their own domestic network including individuals from within his or her household and beyond. Thus those within a household will share some members of a domestic network but may conduct exchanges with individuals outside the household thereby including individuals to whom other members of the household may not relate.

This is shown, for example, in Dorrit's network. Her household consisted simply of herself and her two teenage daughters. Dorrit worked in her mother's restaurant six days a week, which was on the ground floor of the house. The money she earned paid for household food and bills. It also paid for clothes for the children and their schooling. Dorrit would cook for the girls and they would all eat together, although most days they would eat the left-over food from the restaurant as their main meal, shortly after the girls got in from school. Every Sunday night, the girls would cook chicken and rice and peas for the three of them to eat. Dorrit washed her own clothes and the household items and some of the girls' clothes but the girls were expected to wash their own things most of the time, including their school uniforms. They were also expected to help clean the house at the weekends.

The girls participated in household duties in order to support their mother in the care she was giving them, and also in order to learn how to look after a house well, so that their own future households would always be clean and tidy.

Outside the household, Dorrit was economically supported by her mother and a brother. Her mother, Pastora, lived in a house in the centre of the city. Pastora had four children (including Dorrit) by three different fathers. The eldest son lived outside Whitehouse. His father was from Whitehouse originally but moved to England a number of years ago. Dorrit's father was also from Whitehouse but had died. The younger daughter and son had the same father but they did not have contact with him. The young daughter lived with Pastora, the younger son lived in a small house at the back of Dorrit's house, on their family land. He had a son himself who lived with Pastora.

Dorrit continuously exchanged goods and services with her mother. Working in her mother's restaurant was a support to her mother, for although she got paid for this work, her mother gained from having someone hard-working and reliable to help her. If Dorrit needed extra money she would often ask her mother. Her mother also gave her advice and disciplined her children. When Dorrit's daughters came home from school they would sit at the back of the restaurant where they were cooking and they would all talk. Pastora would also buy Dorrit's weekly food shopping from the market every Saturday morning and bring it with her when she came to work in the restaurant. On Saturdays Pastora would also bring her grandson who would play in the yard while Dorrit and Pastora cooked. Dorrit's daughters were also expected to look after him.

Dorrit's elder brother would visit her and his mother every few weeks. He would stay just an hour or so to chat and eat some food. If Dorrit needed some extra money she would also ask him and he would give it to her. Her other siblings however were not in her network. Although her younger brother lived just next door, they had very little contact with each other. He was out working all day and out with friends at night. He showed no interest in Dorrit and her children and she no interest in him. They did not exchange goods or money. Dorrit and her sister in town also did not visit each other or exchange any goods. Thus although Dorrit had

three siblings it was only her elder brother that supported her. Brothers do not expect gifts of material items in return from their sisters (although see below for cases of sharing). He did however, expect to be able to eat something if he came to the house hungry or if food was being eaten. He would also request support in looking after his children from time to time. He would drop off his young child at their house while he went into town. Men, as brothers and fathers, do not expect material goods back from their female relatives (although daughters may support their elderly fathers who are unable to work) but the women should be willing to help with domestic work. Thus the flow of goods is orientated from men to women, and between women. Women also offer service and labour to each other and their male relatives.

Dorrit's 'baby father', Johnny, and his brother, Chappo, were also part of Dorrit's domestic network. Dorrit and Johnny were no longer in a conjugal relationship and in fact most of the time when they saw each other they would argue and shout. Johnny shared a house with his brother but they kept separate households. They ate separately and did not share economic resources. As two grown men they wanted their individual space. Furthermore, Chappo had a drugs habit, and so they needed to be economically independent otherwise Chappo would spend all Johnny's money on drugs. Johnny would sometimes visit his daughters and give Dorrit money in order to help look after them. If Dorrit was in a good mood, he would come into the house and she would give him food to eat. Chappo, although not a blood relative of Dorrit's, was the children's uncle and this brought him into a relationship with Dorrit. Chappo had no domestic network of his own through blood, and no steady work. He was one of the poorest members of the community. Because he had a serious drug habit he also did not look after himself very well and was not able to cook. Often he would come around to Dorrit's house and call to them to get some food. Most of the time they gave him something. He would also stop and chat to the girls and they would tease him and tell him jokes.

Thus Dorrit's domestic network consisted of part of her family and part of her 'baby father's' family. She had many more relatives, including aunts and uncles

with whom she did not communicate or exchange goods and services. Some were abroad but others lived elsewhere in Montego Bay. Spatial distance was not the only influence, however, as her elder brother lived outside Whitehouse but came to visit, whereas her younger brother lived next door but was hardly ever seen, and did not financially contribute towards Dorrit's household. Family members that had grown up together but chose not to exchange with each other as they got older had commonly 'fallen out' over something (see below for a more detailed discussion).

In most parts of the world recruitment to domestic groups is through kinship and marriage. Marriage either brings in new members to an already existing group or is the foundation for creating a new group (Harris 1981: 138). Recruitment to the domestic network in Whitehouse is also through direct kin relations and indirect kin relations. From birth, children form exchange relationships with their parents and siblings. They may also form relationships with their parent's siblings and cousins. New members are also recruited through conjugal relations. Women may have a number of partners and children to different men over time. Some men and their relatives may continue to exchange with the mother even if the couple do not continue their conjugal relationship. This was the case for Chappo and Dorrit. Commonly, women form networks of exchange with their 'baby father's' sisters. In this case, Johnny did not have any sisters.

As women get older their domestic network grows. Dorrit's mother, for example, not only had her own siblings to exchange with, but also all of her children. As she helped raise her grandchildren, either through her own household or her children's households, all her grandchildren were expected to help her through service and to contribute economically towards her maintenance once they were able. As women may also include women and men into their network through their conjugal partners, through time more people are recruited. Furthermore, since new individuals can be continually included into the domestic networks are fluid in their formation. Individual networks may share members but each is unique. Taking Dorrit as an example, the kin relations in her network consisted of her mother, her brother and her daughters. Her mother, however, also

maintained relationships with her siblings and her other daughter who Dorrit did not have an active relationship with. Therefore Dorrit's mother was a link between two networks. Whilst Dorrit's network was separate from her uncles, for example, they were not isolated as her mother actually connected the two.

Although men were included in domestic networks when they gave money and consumer items to their children, female relatives and conjugal partners, it was women who were at the centre of domestic networks. Goods and money were given to women to use in the household. Thus it was women who were looking to bring people in to their domestic networks. Men brought in material items which women did not have to reciprocate in the same way. If the man was a relative then reciprocation was usually in the form of some domestic service, while for conjugal partners it was sexual (see Chapter Four). Thus men were incorporated into domestic networks by women to support women and children. Men had their own networks of exchange, which were commonly formed with peers rather than male relatives, and were displayed in the public sphere (see Chapter Three).

The exchange of money and other basic materials seen in the Caribbean and in black communities in the USA has been considered as an 'adaptive response' to poverty (Barrow 1996; Rubenstein 1987; Stack 1974). Stack (1974) discusses the exchange relations within an urban black community in the USA. She states that individuals establish ties and systems of obligation and sharing out in order to deal with the problem of living on small incomes, barely enough to survive (1974: 29). These systems are conducted through kin relations, many of whom live in close proximity to each other. Unrelated individuals may also be included in a domestic network and so become recognised as kin through the processes of exchange (ibid.: 29). In many ways the system of sharing resources amongst kin in Whitehouse is comparable with that described in Stack's study. Any non-relatives who play an active role in supporting others, are said to have "com like family", that is, become like a member of the family. Thus it could also be said that non-kin become 'socially recognised as kin' (ibid.). As in Stack's community, the values defining kin relations in Jamaica are sharing, obligation, and exchange.

Economic networks of support are a defining feature of domestic networks. However, the economic function of these exchange relationships is not the only factor that constitutes the relationships. The symbolic aspect of household and non-household relationships also determines the construction and maintenance of relationships in the domestic network.

Household space

Houses in Whitehouse varied in size but most consisted of the same basic structure. Houses were traditionally made of wood and consisted of two or three rooms separated by archways, sometimes with pieces of material stretching over the archway for privacy. Children would share sleeping quarters and often beds if there was not enough room for a bed each. Living rooms were often combined with bedrooms, thus a room with a dresser or a dining table or a settee would also contain beds. This is also where the television was kept. In households with more than one room, kitchens rarely contained a sleeping area. Kitchens were often small but consisted of a cooker (preferably gas), a fridge and a place for pots and pans. In one room households the kitchen area was sometimes outside of the house under a tarpaulin. In such cases the cooker was still a traditional coal burner.

The house itself is a private domain distinguished from the outside world of the road, community and strangers. The public arena of the road and beach, dominated by men, is in stark contrast to the private arena of the house and yard dominated by women. Living in a house with 35 year old Dorrit and her two teenage daughters, I was surprised by how few people came to visit and by who actually came inside the house. The only people who entered the house were her mother, her brother, her 'baby father', a woman who paid Dorrit to look after her children while she was at work, and the cousin of the girls. The odd visitor such as an old family friend or an older woman who dropped by sometimes would be entertained outside the house on the veranda. Although this family was not very popular with others in the community¹⁰ and so many visitors were not to be

¹⁰ Most members of the family were thought to consider themselves better than others as the family contained a number of economically successful individuals. Wealth owned by the family was not

expected, it became clear to me that other households also had few visitors who entered the house. When I visited women at their homes, they would normally come outside to speak to me if they were not already sitting or working outside. Leana, an older woman with a one room house, had her kitchen outside, so she would often be cooking food there when I visited. When she was inside I would call her and she would come outside. There then ensued quite a difficult and time consuming process of setting up chairs for us both to be able to sit, as one of the chairs that was for outside use was broken and had to be carefully balanced on junk that lay in the yard. I often wondered why we did not go inside as it would have been so much easier.

In only two households was I invited by women inside their homes. Both were women of my age who had befriended me. I first realised the significance of this when one day I was standing in my friend's house chatting while she was cleaning the kitchen and her cousin passed by. He saw me in the house and said "what! Lucy is in there" my friend replied "yes, Lucy come here all the while, didn't you know?". He had seen me many a time around the community and knew I lived there, yet had never seen me inside his cousin's house before. Yet it was not only myself, a stranger, that was kept at a distance. It was noticeable that even though the community was small, and everyone was said to 'know each other' few people went inside each other's houses. In my friend's house, the visitors I saw were my friend's sisters, their children and her brother's 'baby mother'.

Men, on the other hand, quite willingly invited me into their houses, and were happy to show me the kind of place they lived in. Most of these men were young and single yet this was not simply a ploy for them to get me into their rooms, for they never actually made any physical advances towards me. One man Hopeton, rented a room in a derelict building which had no sanitation or other facilities but one day when I was passing by he called out to me from his doorway and said I should take a look at his place, which consisted simply of a bed and a dresser. After I had seen it we sat outside and talked as we were right by the sea. Men made their house or room more public, there was not such a formality or

shared with other members of the community however, and so the family was generally unpopular. See Chapter Four for a deeper discussion of this issue.

tension in entering a man's lodgings as there was if a woman was there or lived there.

When I first visited people at home I expected to be able to go inside and on the odd occasion when I called out to someone and stepped in the doorway there was an immediate sense that I shouldn't have done so. Yet that was not the case when women were not there. Vince, an old fisherman, lived in a house with his wife, their 21 year old son, and two grandchildren (not the son's). On a few occasions, Vince invited me to eat with him. I would sit in the living room/bedroom and watch television while he cooked. On one occasion, I was invited round and his wife was there. This time I was kept on the veranda.

Women did not invite strangers into their homes. Men did. Women had private, close relationships with other women in the home, whereas men had public, open relationships with other men (see Chapter Three). Women would not invite anyone into their home, male or female, whereas men did not seem to mind. In other words, the house was a place where close female relationships were maintained. This meant that people outside these relationships were kept at a distance, both physically, through limiting contact and space, and symbolically, through limiting entry into the house. The boundaries of the house, and those who could enter into it, were symbolic of the boundaries of female relationships.

Female relationships

The strongest relationships women had with each other were with other female family members. Sisters, aunts, nieces, mothers, grandmothers, cousins were all potentially close relationships. A strong and close dyadic relationship was one where the women looked out for each other's needs and each could rely on the other for help. Although all members of a domestic network maintained their relationships through exchange, the closest relationships between women remained those formed within the household. These female relationships were strong in many ways.

Firstly, women spent a lot of time with each other. If they were not working, women would be at home together attending to household duties or watching

television. Women would often be seen talking and washing clothes together in their yard or cooking and washing dishes. Unless in employment, a respectable woman was expected to stay in the vicinity of her house, and so women who shared a household spent considerable time together.

Secondly, closely related women had strong obligations to help each other with childcare. A single mother would commonly leave her children with a sister or her own mother while she went to work. All women in a household would play a part in raising each other's children, for example, by cooking for them or watching over them. My friends Coreen and Joy often entertained their nieces and nephews in the home while the child's mother was out. Someone would always be in the house when they returned from school and needed something to eat. But 'minding' another person's child could also involve more responsibility. Sometimes women would 'take in' their relative's child permanently. If a woman found a job that was far away or required hours that were not conducive to looking after a child, women would raise their sister's or daughter's child even though she was not living there herself. Women would also raise their brother's or son's child if the mother was not able to.

Women who chose not to raise their own children were generally those without their own domestic network of support such as Blacklip and Natalie, who lived by themselves and did not have much daily contact with their own family. When Natalie was working she had to pay someone to look after her children. Women who left their child with the father to raise were deviant in other respects, they had drug habits, or were considered unsuitable to raise a child through irresponsible behaviour such as going out at night and leaving the child alone. In these situations the father then turned to his own mother or sister to socialise the child.

If the parent is unable to raise the child themselves then female kin are expected to take on the responsibility in order that the child grows in an environment where it would be looked after. All efforts should be made to socialise a child appropriately in order to further their chances of economic success in life. Good manners are significant in acquiring professional occupations, and are, in

fact, a marker of middle class status (Austin 1984). Thus children are encouraged to be respectful and polite from a young age and therefore need attention and discipline in the home.

Thirdly, female relationships are long lasting. While fathers may come and go, as do boyfriends and friends, female kin relations are more permanent (as are cross-sex sibling relationships compared to conjugal relationships). As women do not leave the house until they are starting their own family, they live together for much longer than their male kin. Moreover, even when women have children they often remain living in their mother's household. The obligations women have to each other also maintains relationships. Caring for one another's children especially helps maintain relationships where the mother is not living with her offspring. A woman will come to visit her children but will also visit the carer in order to contribute financially towards her children's upkeep.

While it is almost expected that fathers will not be around to bring up their children socially, or even 'claim' their child, it is dishonourable for a woman to 'abandon' her children. Leaving your child with a female relative in order to work is common and is expected, especially if the mother still lives in the same household. It is not right though, to leave your child with the father and simply to refuse any responsibility for its upbringing. Men may avoid responsibility in looking after their children but a woman should make sure that it is brought up with the basic things needed until they are at an age to look after themselves. Thus women have long term obligations to their children to raise them all the way through their childhood. In contrast, fathers often withdraw financial support for their child if the mother finds another partner who looks after her. Thus men have sporadic or limited periods of responsibility.

Fourthly, women help each other economically with their businesses, to find work, and even to find a partner. Women should support and aid the advancement of their siblings and other relatives. The room I rented in Whitehouse was just above a bar-restaurant. The business was set up in the ground floor of the house and was run by Lorna and Pastora, two sisters. The house had been built by their father and they had grown up there themselves. Their other sister and brother had

migrated and the two sisters used the house for the business together. The business was divided economically with all takings for food being separate from the bar. This enabled the sisters to maintain their own autonomy in decision-making and limited any economic discrepancies between them. Keeping the two sides of the business separate would also enable an easy transfer in the future of the businesses to their own children. Both women employed their own daughters to help them. Lorna's daughter worked behind the bar and had gradually taken on more responsibility for its management. As Lorna got older, her daughter worked there more and more often and when I was there she almost ran the place single handed, even though Lorna was often around to lend a hand when necessary. Pastora's daughter helped prepare the food from early in the morning, would serve it at lunchtime when all the customers came in, and would clear up afterwards. Although the businesses were discrete economic entities, they worked together with both sides of the business benefiting from the other as both women had good reputations for quality products and service. Sons did not support their mothers in the same way as daughters, mainly because of the kinds of work women conducted. It would have been inappropriate for men to undertake work that was so orientated towards the domestic sphere. Sons did, however, work for their fathers on occasion, for example, in fishing or driving trucks (see the following chapter for more detail).

As it is important for women to "look good", relatives will also help each other with hair and nails. Women's hair takes time and effort to plait, braid and twist into many of the styles available. The process can be complicated and especially difficult to do on oneself. Teenagers and young women spend a lot of time styling each others hair. False nails with intricate patterns painted on are likewise time consuming and require another pair of hands to do a good job. Sisters lend each other clothes and give advice on what makes them look good. The teenagers who I lived with frequently wore each others clothes. On occasion clothes worn without permission resulted in arguments as the owner had intended to wear the same piece. New clothes were especially desirable and the real test of caring for

your relative was to lend them a new item. A really 'good' sister would lend her new clothes when her sister asked.

Land, Food and Morality

Family Land

Within the domestic network, women prominently share both goods and services. This can be with any woman in the domestic network but the obligation to reciprocate is greatest when women have shared the day to day activities of a household - the house itself maintaining their relationship through continuous exchange, and long term obligation. The greatest obligation of reciprocation is between a parent and child (or whoever raised it), as a child always grows up with an obligation to look after their parent just as they were looked after as a child. Yet the domestic network is not a unit in isolation, separated from the wider structures and ideologies of society. Neither are its practices or interests always different from those outside the network (Harris 1984: 140).

In other words, the economic practices within the household or wider domestic network need to be understood in relation to those outside either of them. In commodity economies the pooling of resources within a domestic unit is perceived to be radically distinct from the two-way transactions of the market place (Harris 1984:141). For Sahlins (1974), the distinction lies in reciprocal relations within the household being ones of generosity and those outside the household being balanced (*ibid.*). In Jamaica the distinction would be the difference between those inside the domestic network, including individuals from different households and those outside the network.

The distinction in Whitehouse lies not in the different *practices* of the two domains, for individuals within the domestic network exchange goods and money as do those outside the network. A sister may ask her brother for money to buy a drink for example, as does an individual ask another member of the community for a drink as she sees them sitting inside a bar (see Chapter Five). In the first case the sister asks her brother for a drink as she cannot afford to buy one. If he is able to, he

gives her the money as he is her brother and is expected to look after her. In the second case, the same request is made but the woman asks not necessarily because she doesn't have the money to buy a drink, but because she would rather keep her money and spend someone else's. There is a distinction between the moralities of the exchange.

In the following chapters I will show how practices of economic exchange are embedded with motives of self-interest and gaining agency. The relationship between the individuals is unequal, in that one person has economic resources which the other person desires, and transactions are often conducted with a short-term interest. For example, in working relationships, the owner or boss is always in a position of power to exploit workers and gain financially by tricking workers out of their pay, even though the worker may then leave.

Within the domestic network, however, the sharing and exchange of goods and money is conducted through the idioms of equality, collective interest and the long term. This is clearly demonstrated in the inheritance of family land. Family land was created as an institution in Jamaica after emancipation in 1838. Besson (1979, 1984, 1987) discusses the material and symbolic nature of land in Martha Brae, a peasant village in rural Jamaica. The institution was created as a way for peasants to maximise land rights in response to plantation hegemony (Besson 1987: 14). All plots of land, although small, are regarded as the inalienable property of all descendants (*ibid.*). Thus family land, in its inalienable character, provides security and freedom for all future family. A paradox emerges, however, as plots of land are often small, (half an acre for example) and so not all descendants can actually activate these rights. The recognition of this limitation is observed as many individuals migrate or buy or squat on land elsewhere. Thus the significance of family land to individuals, lies in the entitlement to the land even if one does not actually use it (*ibid.*: 15). The right to return to family land is signified through the saying that family should always be able to go back and "pick the fruits off the tree" at anytime. Families that do in fact grow crops on their land (not practised in Whitehouse), should always accept other family members coming and asking for

small amounts of produce for themselves. Most significantly, any member that left the family land who wants to return to live there should be able to.

Areas containing family land are uncommon in city districts. Most areas of city land are now 'captured' areas. These areas originally belonged to the government but individuals began to squat on them, after which communities gradually built up. As communities became large, the government began to supply such places with necessary infrastructure rather than try and remove them. In Montego Bay in 1978, 63% of housing was within captured land areas. This figure will have increased dramatically since then.¹¹ Other types of land include private and commercial areas, or government owned land where individuals can also rent houses.

In Whitehouse, all land except the playing area and the fishing beach is family land. The rights of family to this land are the same as those mentioned by Besson (1979, 1984, 1987) for Martha Brae. No one in Whitehouse has areas within their land to plant food although a few plots contain a breadfruit or banana tree.¹²

In Whitehouse, equality within the family is evident in the recognition of all descendants' right to land. Inheritance does not discriminate on the basis of gender or sequence of birth. Neither is land divided up into areas within one plot that then becomes subdivided. Land is kept as an undivided whole. As plots of land are small, it is common for households to extend their houses rather than build new ones as the size of a household grows. This is done by adding an extra one or two rooms onto one end of the existing structure. As houses get old, the wood deteriorates and some get to the point where the inhabitants will move out. If a house has not been steadily renovated over time, it is likely that an elderly person lives there. If so, they will move into another house with family and stay there. The old house will then be demolished and create a space for a new house to be built.

Houses belong to the individuals that built them and when these individuals die, houses are also inherited equally by all children living there. For

¹¹ The number of persons living in informal settlements in Montego Bay increased from 16,036 people in 1961 to 42,028 in 1978 (Eyre 1979). It was estimated that this number had increased to 70,000 in 1999 and was still growing.

¹² Even within rural areas, family land is not always used to grow crops. Small plots may be cultivated for family use but farmers will own separate pieces of land to grow commercial crops.

example, there are six houses within the 'Cuvellic' plot of land, a small plot at the end of the Whitehouse area, next to the sea. The first house contains Leana, her elderly mother, her daughter and her two grandchildren. Leana had two brothers and one sister. One of her brothers built a house in Whitehouse, the other in a nearby area. Her sister migrated to the USA. Leana has a son who also migrated. The second house was in the process of being built by one of Leana's brother's sons. He was living in the USA but decided to build the house so his family could visit Jamaica and have a place for themselves to stay in. The third house contained Gerzel, Leana's aunt and a young man who rented a room there. The fourth building was old and empty, and used to house Leana's ancestors but was now uninhabitable. The fifth house contained Everton, another son of Leana's brother. Leana's brother used to live in the house and all his children were born and raised there. Most had migrated but Everton lived there part of the time with his daughter, his girlfriend and another child of hers. He also rented a room to a woman and her children. He also spent most of his time in England. The last house belonged to another son of Leana's brother where he lived alone. Thus all of Leana's family and her siblings' families had the right to live on the land, although most of them chose to live abroad. Those that had migrated, however, were still able to claim land - which some of them did. Those that remained built houses and settled on the land.

Collective interest is displayed as family land ensures economic security for all the family. Land prices are high in Montego Bay and so most young people, if they choose to move away from the family land, rent a place rather than buy. This however, offers no economic security for their own children. Often individuals will move to an area of captured land and squat there. There may be more space to informally build a new house but occupation is a risk. In the past, the Jamaican government bulldozed informal settlements which have been growing in Montego Bay since the end of the 1950s (Eyre 1979). Large areas have continued to develop but with few facilities and they are now over-crowded. Thus it is in the interest of all the family to keep the land they have. Besson (1987) describes all family land in Martha Brae as inalienable. However, in Whitehouse all family land has one person

who is the title holder. It is their responsibility to pay an annual land tax, which they can collect from their family members if they desire (it is a nominal fee). The title holder can though, if they wish, sell the land. They would then receive the money for it and all those on the land would have to leave. In such a scenario, the title holder would not have to share the payment with anyone else thus the rest of the family would lose their economic security. This action would seriously violate the collective interest of the family, and so no person had done this yet in Whitehouse.

Keeping family land as the moral inalienable property of all the family, not only ensures the interest of those living there at the present time, but ensures security of those to come. Although plots of land are small, future descendants will still have the right to claim land.

At the moment, those who have been able to move away from the community through a good education and employment have done so. Many have migrated and a few have returned. In the past ten years young men have attempted to migrate to the USA and Canada to establish themselves in the drugs trade or other illegal economic practices. Looking to make 'big money' very quickly, men who would not be in a position to make money so easily in Jamaica, took their chances abroad. Many however have been arrested and deported. In Whitehouse, three men were said to have been deported. Returning to Jamaica through deportation meant that men were without the economic resources they had hoped to gain. In fact, they came back with nothing. Having nowhere else to go, these men returned to Whitehouse and the family land. Their return brought mockery and stigmatism, as they had failed in their goals to gain social status. But these men had no choice but to come back to where they had claim to a room or land in order to have somewhere to live. Thus when necessary, individuals were keen to exercise their right to family land, especially when alternative arrangements had gone wrong.

The institution of family land highlights a particular perspective towards time. Family land combines perspectives of both the past and the future. The past is represented through the family name that is considered to own the land and is



Plate 1. Houses in close proximity on family land.

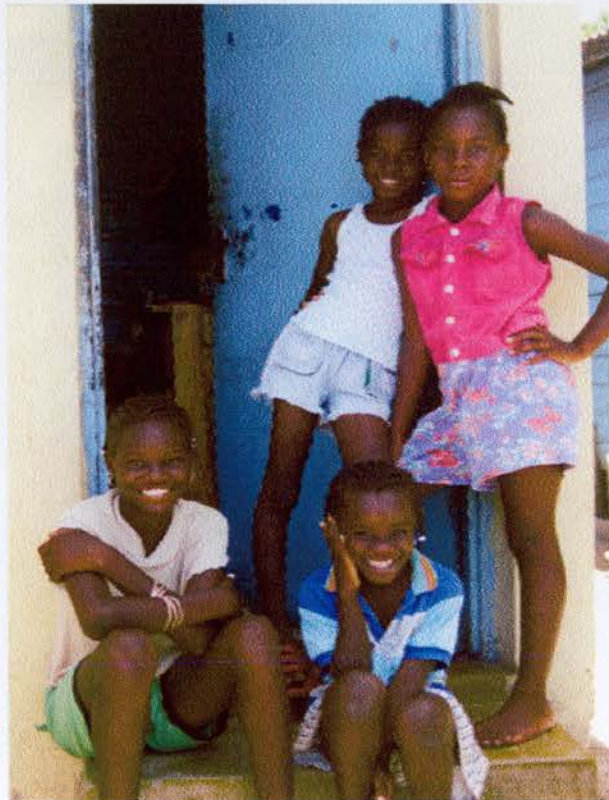


Plate 2. Young sisters and a friend.

registered on the deeds. This name is representative of those through whom the land has been inherited over the generations. The original name will often continue to last even if there is no male line to pass it on. A mother will keep the family name on the land even though her children take the surname of their fathers. The children will then also keep the family name, and so on, until (if ever) the land is sold.

Family land places the future at the forefront of its purpose. Although those living on the land find security in it, it is a resource that is valued as much for generations to come as those who live on it in the present. Adults stayed living on family land for their children's sake as much as their own.

Some pieces of land in Whitehouse were already crowded, but despite this, no one was told or forced not to live on family land because there were too many people. Neither did anyone say that future generations would not be able to stay there. Everyone relied on the fact that their own children would have the opportunity to stay if they needed to. It was still hoped that children would do well at school and have the opportunity to afford to live elsewhere where they could buy larger pieces of land, but if this did not occur then somehow they would find a way to stay in Whitehouse. In two cases, families have started to encroach on public land next to their own houses. One family had built an extension to their house that stretched onto the public playing field, another man had started to build a house on land whose owners did not live in Whitehouse and had a lot of empty space. In both situations though, as neither had the right to build on the land, the government, or the owners could claim back their property and demolish the buildings. On the other hand, there remained the possibility that the rightful owners would never claim back their land and therefore each household would have a new area to pass onto their children although they had no legal rights.

The inheritance of land was not, however, without conflict. Its inalienable character did lead to disputes as family members who had not lived in the area claimed small areas to build houses on. This was especially so when members who lived abroad decided to build houses for either holiday visits or the possibility of future return. Their intentions were not always blocked as it was within their

rights, but family in Whitehouse would be critical of those visiting and might even gossip or snub them when they visited, making their stay quite unpleasant. This would normally happen however, if other members in Whitehouse were intent on using the areas, or relations between parties were not good, because those abroad had not supported the relations back in Whitehouse when they migrated.

'Eating from the same pot'

It is not just the institution of family land that portrays the morality of the domestic network. The pooling and sharing of money and goods reflects the same ideals. One practice which illustrates this especially clearly is the sharing of food. Eating together symbolises equality. This is summarised in the saying "we eat out of the same pot". Individuals who eat out of the same pot do not consider themselves better than one another, and therefore worthy of better food or better company, they are all prepared to eat the same food. In fact, any member of the domestic network who considers themselves 'better' than the others may well stop eating out of the same pot.

Bugus, for example, had a sister who married a 'country' man. He lived with his wife in her family home for a while. They would all eat out of the same pot. Then he got a job in Canada and the two of them migrated. When they came back to visit her mother and family, her husband decided that he didn't want to stay at the house with few facilities any more, and when they visited he would have already eaten so that he did not eat with them either. It was said that he had got used to Canadian ways and was no longer happy with the simple style in Jamaica. He considered himself better than his relatives because he lived abroad and had more money. Therefore he did not want to eat with them anymore for they were no longer equal to him. The sharing of food between the estranged women and the single men which I described earlier also shows equality. They were all in the same situation and did not have family to share with.

In defending the collective interest of the network, all members are expected to state their support for each other when there is a conflict with an 'outsider'. Barry Dread was accused of stealing some lobsters. He had a reputation

for being a thief, and everyone in the community accused him and demanded a confession. Barry's mother did not defend him or come to his defence at all. Barry could not believe that his own mother had done such a thing, and he started declaring that she was not his mother and had, in fact, never been a good mother. The problem was not that she also suspected he had done it, but that she was expected to defend him even if she knew he had done it. Thus family were supposed to defend each other at all times.

The collective interest shown in families was strongly felt by individuals who moved into Whitehouse from outside. Not being a member of any local family, they felt vulnerable to accusations of improper behaviour as they had no one to defend them.

Iroy was a man who had come from the country to Montego Bay. He lived by himself in a small derelict building. He was very poor and rarely had any consumer items of value. On one occasion, however, he had been sent a pair of trainers from a relative in the USA. After just a couple of days someone stole them. Iroy had an idea who it was but felt that he could not do anything because he was alone against the thief's whole family. Often in such situations, the family maintains the defence of the individual as their action benefits the family. In cases of theft, for example, the stolen item is shared amongst the family. People even told me stories of mothers sending their children out to steal in order to bring goods back to the family.

Collective interest is prevalent at all times within the domestic network, and not just in time of opposition to outsiders. This should be displayed by respecting the system of sharing. No one should 'use' another member of the family in order to better themselves. Furthermore, none should try and pull each other down, as persons outside the domestic network are constantly trying to do (see Chapter Three). Such behaviour within the network normally causes the termination of the relationships with the other members. Wiggy, for example, was born in Whitehouse and had many relatives there, although he lived in a household by himself. His mother was one of six children, five of whom were still living in

Whitehouse with their families. Wiggy professed to get along with some relatives better than others. He described the problematic relationship with his sister:

Debbie would come and take my things, use my things like soap or shampoo or food. She would use them, but if I went to her, she would make a big fuss. Its like yours is worth nothing but theirs is something. Like if I am broke and need a 100 dollars, I am choosy about who I beg from. If I go to them and feel they are going to say 'how can you be broke?' - like they've never been broke before. They think that their things are for them alone.

Wiggy's sister Debbie would use Wiggy's possessions with ease. She expected to be able to do this and her brother, Wiggy, let her. But when Wiggy went to her for an item she made a fuss. He could not use her things as she needed them, implying that her things were more important than his. This meant that Wiggy had to be careful about who he chose to beg things from so as not to feel put down. Wiggy was unable to ask for many things from his family and as a consequence felt used by them, as they expected to be able to come to him for money and goods. Wiggy saw a lot of the members of his family in the same way and thus had little to do with them.

Long term obligation is also displayed through the continuous exchange of goods and services over many years. As stated, the parent-child relationship is the most fundamental of these relationships. Children should always support their parents as they get old. This is the case, in fact, for any adult that rears a child, even if they are not their parent. Any child that grows up with a relative other than their parent, is obligated to repay them and not, therefore, their biological mother or father. Thus the investment in raising a child is what creates the obligation to repay, not simply the blood relation.

Many children grow up without a father, some grow up with a step father and may visit their father from time to time. Coreen, for example, would visit her father in another parish about once a month. He would give her the money for the journey and extra money for herself. She liked going as he had a big house in the country where it was cool and quiet. Her father had other children that lived with him, however, and when he was older they would be the ones who were expected to support him. Coreen still respected her father's financial support though, and

said that she would not have any reservations about helping her father in the future if he should need it.

For those who grew up without their parent(s), commonly the father, children had no obligation to look after them as they got old. Many would not even know where to find them. The parent is said not to “know them”; they were not there when the child had needs, they didn't care how they grew up. Therefore their lack of care, interest, and physical support dissolved any obligation by the child to care for them.

Exchanges within the network must continue through time otherwise relationships will dissolve. Such kin would still be considered as family but would be talked about with disdain. Individuals who migrate may fall into this category if they do not send money and consumer items as they ought to. They are said to have forgotten about those back home. If an individual does not send money or clothes once they have migrated it also makes their return difficult, should they need to come back. This was the case for the men who were deported from the USA back to Jamaica. Exchanges should also continue to be reciprocated. If a relative continuously visits in order to receive money but never gives anything back, suspicion will arise among the others that they are being used. As was shown in the beginning of this chapter, one should be prepared to give to the family rather than be just a taker.

Again, it is through kinship and continuing reciprocity, that a concern for the future is demonstrated. Parents in particular, support their children to the best of their abilities expecting that their children will look after them when they are old. Other kin also support each other whilst they are able in order to form a reciprocal relationship. Should they need help in the future, they should be able to request it from kinsfolk whom they themselves had supported in the past. Thus past actions are remembered by relatives, and an uncertain future is somewhat prepared for through kin exchanges.

Morality and reciprocation are considered to be the core of kinship relations for both Fortes (1969) and Bloch (1973). For Fortes (1969: 232), all familial domains contain an inherent altruistic morality which he calls the “principle of kinship

amity". This principle is one of mutual support and good conduct which defines the boundaries of each domestic domain. Those within the domain share this amity with other members. Those who breach this amity can be excluded (ibid.: 110). All kinsfolk may claim support and consideration from one another, simply by the fact that they are kin. Fortes gives different examples of the display of amity and, in particular, emphasises an ethic of generosity (ibid.: 237). This ethic is exhibited as kin are generous in sharing with each other and do not demand equivalent returns.

Kinsfolk must ideally share - hence the frequent invocation of brotherhood as the model of generalised kinship; and they must ideally, do so without putting a price on what they give. Reciprocal giving between kinsfolk is supposed to be done freely and not in submission to coercive sanctions or in response to contractual obligations (ibid.: 238).

This inherent altruism, exhibited in freely giving to one another, stands in opposition to non-kin relations and is clearly demonstrated through the notion of debt. Kinsfolk cannot become indebted to one another as they are bound to share freely. Reciprocation is without sanction or enforcement; it is without calculation (ibid.: 246).

Following Fortes, Bloch (1973) emphasises the morality of kin relations as the distinguishing factor *vis-à-vis* non-kin relations. Kinship is considered the 'most moral' of relationships and it is in fact this morality that makes kin relations long lasting (ibid.: 76). Since kin relationships are what Fortes (1969: 238) calls 'unconditional', long term reciprocity is achieved amongst kin, because "it is not reciprocity which is the motive but morality" (Bloch 1973: 76). This is evident for Bloch as delayed reciprocity, common in kin relations, is tolerated between actors whereas in non-kin relations immediate reciprocation is often required. This is shown amongst the Merina of Madagascar. Here, kin obligations are expressed as binding, unconditional and without term where all individuals are mutually obligated to co-operate with kinsmen (ibid.: 78).

Bloch explains how these obligations are conducted in relation to agricultural labour teams. As kinsmen are expected to co-operate, Bloch presumed that kinsmen would be called upon first to work in the team. However, it was

actually 'artificial' kinsmen that were called upon before 'real' kinsmen. The reason being that a lot of people were needed for agricultural work. As 'real' kinsmen were bound to co-operate they would always come, however, 'artificial' kinsmen would only come if one kept up the practices of requesting help. If requests were not continuously made, 'artificial' kin relationships would lapse. Thus individuals made requests from these kinsmen first in order to maintain relationships for future times of need. Since there is no guarantee of their co-operation, relationships needed to be maintained by continuous use (ibid.: 79). Therefore, because 'real' kin relationships are moral, they are reliable in the long term without continuous exchange and reciprocation. 'Artificial' relationships though, require renewing with more immediate reciprocation and manipulation to keep them effective in the future.

The morality of kin relationships described by Fortes (1969) and Bloch (1973) is striking in its similarities and differences when compared to what is evident in Whitehouse. Whilst I also stated that in Whitehouse the morality of kinship distinguishes kin relationships from non-kin relationships, this needs to be further distinguished in relation to reciprocity. Both Fortes and Bloch argue that the co-operative and generous morality of kin relations allows for imbalanced reciprocity. Reciprocity is not accountable and is without enforcement or calculation (Fortes 1969: 246). Thus kin are expected to share resources freely.

I have given numerous examples from Whitehouse where individuals are expected to share their resources with members of the domestic network. For example, food is shared or clothes are sometimes shared amongst women. But in all of these cases, the individual providing the resources will expect a return in the future. This might be with some delay, like a grandmother expecting help from her grown up grandchildren or it can be more immediate, for example, a young woman lends an item of clothing to her sister and requests equal reciprocation perhaps a week later when she is in need.

In all cases though, it is those who have money, or food or material goods that are expected to give, but as soon as others are able to return the support they should do so. Therefore reciprocation is not without expectations or enforcement. It

does contain these elements, and in fact kin will observe who is succeeding economically and will expect them to give generously. Making a return displays to kin that you are willing to support them as they supported you, and that you are not in fact, involved in the immoral behaviour of exploiting them.

However, as return exchanges need to be made, this shows that imbalances in relationships are suspected. In fact, Dexter and Barry, two persons whose cases I have discussed in this chapter, explained how their families were embedded in inequality and injustice. In some ways kin relationships may not be so different from those outside this domain. Within the hierarchy of the community, the wealthy are expected to support the poor, and levelling mechanisms are exercised in order for domination to be limited. Within domestic networks, the more wealthy are also expected to provide for others. Whilst the values adhered to are the collective interest and equality of the group, these values can also mask the desire to limit domination between kin.

Abu-Lughod states that, for the Awlad 'Ali, (Bedouins of the Western Desert Egypt), social inequality within kin relations is masked as relationships are not perceived in terms of power, but as the strong helping the weak. Authority is exerted through care and affection (1986: 81-82). Within Whitehouse, the desire to limit the power of kin members can be veiled under the value of equality. Conversely, kin can use these values in order to further their own interests. Conflict is often reported through individuals claiming resources through the morality of sharing and collective interest, yet not making return donations themselves. In this way ideologies are used to hide their own interests in gaining economically from kin.

The actual act of giving is therefore necessary to maintain relationships, and in fact reciprocation is often required in the short-term in order to display support. The small vignette describing Dexter's problematic relationships with his family, at the beginning of this chapter, illustrates this. One cannot be *seen* to be using one's kin for money or goods. Therefore when one person has resources, he or she should give to others freely and on request. If kin visit in order to receive support and one is able to give, then this should be done. If it is perceived however, that those

asking are using the morality of kin relationships to exploit others, then the relationship will lapse. In order not to be seen as exploiting others, each individual has to give when they are able to.

In Whitehouse then, the supportive and collective morality of kin relations needs to be maintained through continuous reciprocity. Unlike the Merina (Bloch 1973) where non-kin relations are sustained through exchange, it is kin relations that require the display of support. This needs to be done immediately, when kin have the resources. Giving in the present also maintains relationships for the future. If kin were able to give to another but did not, it would be unlikely that any future request by them would be reciprocated. Therefore, as Fortes (1969) and Bloch (1973) argue, kin relations are moral relations, but the morality of relationships in Whitehouse requires reciprocation in order to show that one is maintaining this morality. Morality alone does not sustain relationships.

In a sense then, the exchange of money and goods is symbolic of how kin relations should be conducted. Schneider (1980) discusses American kinship as a cultural system. At the centre of this system is sexual reproduction, which contains the central symbols of American kinship. Sexual reproduction symbolises 'love' or 'diffuse enduring solidarity' (ibid.: 50) and also defines the elements of kinship and the relations between the elements (ibid.: 44). For Schneider, the family is based upon 'diffuse enduring solidarity', and in turn, the symbol of the family, defines how kinship relations should be conducted (ibid.: 45). Thus, relationships, he argues, are supportive and built on a trust which does not depend on reciprocity. They are not confined to specific goals or to specific times (ibid.: 52). In Whitehouse however, the symbol of the family is giving and reciprocating. Giving and reciprocating are demonstrated through many actions - giving money to the household or other kin, sharing food, providing for one's parents are all examples. These signs show that the relationships are built on a long term collective interest amongst equals. They symbolise what kin relations are about.

Thus the transfer of goods within a domestic network is not simply functional. The morality of the practices conducted stand in opposition to those of the community and wider society, although materially, these values can also act in

the same way other relationship do - in limiting the control of others. Whereas relationships outside the domestic network are unequal, conducted through self-interest and practised with a short-term interest, those within the network are ideologically based on equality, collective interest, and the long term, although the opposite kinds of behaviour can occur. Therefore it is the normative values of these relationships plus the continuous display of support by giving goods and services that distinguishes them from others.

Conclusion

The universal function of the domestic network has been thought of by anthropologists to be the production and rearing of children and to satisfy the material needs of everyday life, namely the consumption of food (Yanagisako 1979: 165). The core or 'nucleus' of this network is the mother and child. For Fortes, this relationship constituted the elementary family whose function was purely reproductive and domestic (1958: 8). This core is distinguishable from the domestic group where other generations and collateral members are included and jural and other affectionate bonds are introduced (*ibid.*).

In the Caribbean, the domestic group has been identified as the household (Smith 1956; Smith 1962; Clarke 1957). The household is considered to be made up of kin members who share shelter and food and raise children. The household was thus also equated with 'the family'. These studies however, were functionalist in their approach and aimed to uncover the composition of the household particularly in relation to one figure, a 'household head'. Thus such studies largely ignored the kin relationships that could be found between households. In Smith's (1988) genealogical study of Jamaica and Guyana, the family was found to be constructed in different ways. It was considered as a unit consisting simply of parents and children, but on the other hand was also thought of as expansive and incorporating any relative. Therefore as kin relations were often extensive, with many aunts, uncles, cousins and generations, individuals often said the members of their families were too numerous to describe (*ibid.*: 36). The study of the family then had to expand away from purely intra-household relations to inter-household relations.

Olwig's (1993) study of social networks in Nevis highlighted how the exchange of consumer items and mutual assistance by relatives was really what constituted the notion of the family. In Whitehouse, the exchange of goods and assistance was also vital to the constitution and maintenance of domestic relations. These exchanges were conducted with relatives and non-relatives, both within and between households. I have called these networks domestic as goods are orientated towards women and their domestic needs. For example, money is mainly given to feed and clothe family members. Service is mainly provided in rearing children and conducting household duties such as cooking and cleaning.

The house and its members remain significant factors within the domestic network. Any material item that a person receives is often shared amongst members of the household, or is considered property that is available to others. For example, items of clothing, although the property of one individual, may well be shared amongst household members. Money is often spent on food for the household, although other members of the domestic network may receive food from time to time. Most significantly, the house maintains the personal relationships that women have with each other. For although goods and people may enter networks of exchange, it is relationships that are formed within the household that are the strongest as women continuously give, provide for, and assist one another.

Exchange and assistance in domestic networks provides for domestic life. Goods and money provide for the daily consumption needs of the household. The help women give each other is orientated to raising children. Women look after the daily needs of their relatives' children and also help their relatives to improve their own economic situations, for example by finding work, so that they may have the finances to rear their children successfully. This would include sending children to school and being able to provide the basic material things children desire.

Yet the function of the domestic group or family is not all that we need to consider. Families are more than units of reproduction and nurture, in fact, "they are as much about production, exchange, power, inequality, and status" (Yanagisako 1979: 199). In Whitehouse, I have shown that the domestic network is a

domain that is distinguished from other relationships, through normative principles and practices.

In the domestic network, exchange is supposed to stand in opposition to other relationships. For example, all members express their equality in eating food cooked out of the same pot. No member is to consider their status higher than others within the network. This does not mean that individuals are not differentiated publicly by status, as members earn different amounts of money and will have different reputations (see Chapter Three). But within the domestic network, individuals are considered equal and therefore entitled to give and receive within the network. Following on from this, equality is preserved in the network through the collective interest. Individuals should not use other members in order to further their own financial and social situation at a negative cost to others. Therefore relationships should not be formed simply for the self-interest of the individual. Finally, relationships are formed with the expectation of long term obligation. This is most clearly shown through reciprocation from a child to the adult that raised them, as relationships of exchange will last throughout both their lifetimes.

But whilst the domestic network is a domain built upon equality and collective interest, non-kin relationships do not share this morality. One area in particular, is that of work and the workplace. Founded upon relationships of unequal access to resources, working relationships are often surrounded by conflict and a constant assertion of independence. It is this domain that I shall discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Work

This chapter shows how work, and in particular working for others is perceived within Whitehouse. Personal autonomy is valued by all Jamaicans, but the workplace is an area of social life that potentially limits this most. Work in its essence is considered controlling (Wallman 1979: 1). The fundamental purpose of work, within a western perspective, is to control nature; to change the form of something natural in order to produce wealth (ibid.). Within this viewpoint, working relationships are perceived as controlling. Normally, one person or group of persons holds control over commanding others in their work. Control is also more indirect as access to resources is limited, or accessible resources devalued (ibid.). Work is also a moral sphere (ibid.: 7). Within this chapter, I show that work, for the people of Whitehouse, is a sphere that is prominent in defining and experiencing freedom in individual lives. In particular, individuals are able to display entrepreneurial skills and self-ownership.

Work in Jamaica has always been dualistic. That is, there have always been two systems in the economy - the formal sector and informal sector. The informal sector, created as an informal market for the trade of food and crafted goods was created shortly after plantations began functioning in Jamaica and has remained ever since. I will explore both the formal and informal economy within Whitehouse and in particular, the politics of relations between workers and owners. This includes how working for another individual is perceived to limit personal autonomy or not, and the ways that individuals assert control over their own lives.

History of the informal economy

Within the plantation system of Jamaica, slave owners needed some facility for feeding slaves. On smaller islands in the Caribbean it was necessary to import food for slaves but this was both expensive and sometimes hazardous. In Jamaica food was produced by slaves themselves (Mintz 1974: 181-2). Slaves were able to

use areas of land unsuitable for sugar production, on which they grew a variety of vegetables and herbs, with some slaves rearing pigs and poultry (Stewart 1823 in Mintz 1974: 187). Initially produced for personal use, these items were eventually taken to local markets and exchanged or sold, with slaves keeping the proceeds (ibid.: 182-3). Slaves were then able to 'indulge' in buying clothing and 'gratifying' meats (Edwards 1793 in Mintz 1974: 191). Plantation owners did not supervise or control the food production of slaves. The reason for this is uncertain but it is asserted that slave masters preferred to instil some kind of 'happy coalition' between slaves and owners. Slaves were granted some land, a sufficient diet, and a small income, so that they were less likely to desert or rebel.

How the first markets were established, and why planters let their slaves trade in this way is unknown, but markets were established shortly after the English occupation as a means for freemen and plantation owners to trade livestock (Mintz 1974: 195-6). It is likely that slaves traded goods with each other on estates before markets were established, but by the end of the seventeenth century it is known that there were established market days, in which it was usual for slaves to trade (ibid.: 197). In 1774 Long estimates that there was 50,000 pounds in currency circulating in Jamaica, of which at least 10,000 was passing through slaves (ibid.: 200). By the beginning of the nineteenth century slaves were not only producing sugar on the plantations but were producing a range of foods, stocks and crafted items for sale to other slaves, townspeople, and a growing number of small merchants (ibid.: 201). Thus the market activities of slaves became important to the Jamaican economy, as evidenced by the increasing existence of middlemen and export dealers (ibid.: 205).

After emancipation, the informal marketing system remained a dominant part of the Jamaican economy and is considered to have grown in accordance with the growth of an agricultural peasantry (ibid.: 217). A significant characteristic of the informal market in Jamaica was the use of money as opposed to barter to exchange goods. As Mintz argues, the use of money enabled goods to pass through many individuals in the process of moving from producer to final consumer, and in

fact, in Jamaica, many small scale traders took part in the system. A small amount of goods was traded by each individual for small profits (ibid.: 218-9).

The informal market system, created through the plantation system, and developed from emancipation is still prevalent in Jamaica. In Montego Bay, the streets of the centre of the city were full of men and women (hagglers), selling food, clothing, watches, sweets, shoes etc. Throughout Jamaica, the informal economy extends beyond petty trade. For example, in 1984 it was assessed that 48.6% of the working population were active in the informal sector. The term 'informal economy', proposed by Keith Hart (1973), encompasses economic activity outside state regulation. The informal economy is non-bureaucratic and differs significantly from the formal economy as labour is recruited on a less permanent and regular basis, often without fixed rewards (ibid.: 1973: 68). This economy was used by everyone in Whitehouse, either for production or consumption. For example, almost everyone travelled by the informal transport system - the route taxi, and a number of people rented rooms informally. The informal economy was dominant in Whitehouse and most individuals used it to make money in some way. The range of work conducted included fishing, trading fish, mechanical work, house construction and maintenance, electrical repairs, petty trading from homes, bars, car-washing, and rearing goats, chicken or pigs.

The informal economy was so widespread because it remained accessible at all times, even if on one occasion a venture was unsuccessful, another one could always be tried. Individuals could enter it and leave it as often as they wanted, as long as they had some capital. This was particularly so for fishing. The sea was open to anyone who desired to use it, as long as individuals had access to equipment (see below). Women preferred not to go fishing as it was 'scary' but men came back to it time and again. Fishing did not make much money, and although some men continued investing in fishing year after year, there were a number of other men who just dipped into it sometimes when they wanted to, or when they needed extra money.

Work in Whitehouse was both fluid, in that individuals moved from one kind of work to another, and unstable, that is, jobs were not considered permanent

or secure. Non-permanence, however, was something to be valued within Whitehouse. Whilst the lack of a permanent job could mean individuals faced prolonged periods of time without earning, overall, a fluctuating environment allowed individuals to assert their own creativity and flexibility through work. Individuals did different kinds of work throughout their lifetime and, often, at any one time.

Vince was a 60 year-old fisherman at the time I met him. He was born in the parish of Hanover and lived there with his parents and siblings until he was seventeen. Having grown up in a rural area, Vince learned a great deal about farming and raising livestock, but decided to look for work in a different field when he finished school. The first job Vince obtained was in a butcher shop in Green Island. Taken on as an apprentice, Vince earned very little but enjoyed working there, as he used his position to gain popularity in the community. He told me that he did this by giving away free meat to people who could not afford to buy any. In order that no stock was unaccounted for, Vince would make up for what he had given away by secretly undercutting portions of meat from those whom he considered more wealthy. Whilst in Green island, Vince also worked from time to time in the cane fields, but this work was tiring, low paid and brought no extra rewards. After spending a couple of years in Green Island, Vince decided to move to Montego Bay. He got a job working in a hotel as a cook. Vince continued working as a cook in different hotels and restaurants for over ten years but also began to invest in pig rearing. During his lifetime, Vince also worked in housing construction, in road works and also fruit picking in the USA. By the time he was in his forties, he had begun to go fishing with a man who owned a boat at Whitehouse fishing beach. The owner spent a lot of time in the USA and so Vince was entrusted with the running of the boat. Vince used that fishing boat and employed a number of different men as crew over the ten years of fishing. Throughout the period of fishing, Vince also worked at the international airport cutting the grass. Just as I was leaving my fieldwork, Vince began to rear pigs again.

Vince started his own working life being trained as a butcher but later diverged into many different kinds of work. Although he remained a cook for a

lengthy period, he did not pursue a career within this field; rather, he moved jobs according to how well he was 'getting along' with others he was working with, particularly those in charge, and also according to the social benefits that could be gained from different kinds of work. For example, Vince enjoyed working in the butchers, and also liked fishing, as he was able to be generous in giving away produce, a virtue greatly admired in Jamaica. Furthermore, giving away food on request, would create indebtedness towards him, at very little cost to himself. Vince, like other people in Whitehouse, did not pursue an increase in status from securing a particular occupational position, for example, by being a head chef, or a store manager. In fact, pursuing promotion could actually produce the opposite effect. In order to gain promotion, individuals needed to 'bow down' to their boss, or the company. That is, do everything they were told to do without questioning, and surrender all personal independence to those in positions of power. In many cases, individuals were not prepared to do this. The act of being promoted signified that an individual had been 'bowing down' to the boss. In order to 'bow down', individuals would relinquish their own potential to be creative and thus lose status. Also, individuals would identify themselves less with their fellow work mates or 'poor man', and begin to place themselves alongside people of higher social position. In the same way as British working class men in factories were considered to be 'selling out' on their colleagues when they supported managerial decisions (Beynon 1973: 286), individuals in Whitehouse who gained promotion were suspected of rejecting their present social position, and of beginning to consider themselves 'better than others', thus rejecting the individuals they previously identified themselves with.

Troy was a party host on a cruise boat. He was one of four young men who worked on a catamaran that picked up tourists from a large hotel and toured the coastline of Montego Bay. The guests on the boat paid a fixed fee for the excursion and were then able to eat and drink as much alcohol as they liked. The party hosts organised games and entertainment. The cruise was very popular. Troy and the other three men held equal position in keeping the tourists happy, but Troy was noticed by the captain to be especially good at the job. The captain then offered

Troy a promotion to supervisor. This meant being in charge of all the entertainment and the other three men. When Troy received his promotion the other men became awkward towards him - not carrying out the requests he asked of them, and not reporting matters to him that later made him look inefficient and irresponsible. They disliked the fact that he had been placed in a position of authority over them when previously they had all been equal, and presumed that he had acquired this position through rejecting his peers and 'sucking up' to the owner. In retaliation for his promotion, the other men tried to 'bring him back down' again by making work on the boat difficult for him. Shortly afterwards however, Troy received a bonus from the boss for his work and he shared it out with the other men. This showed the other workers that although he had been promoted he was not 'looking down' on them, and in fact, he still identified himself with their position under the boss. This greatly eased the tension between the men and they no longer sabotaged his work.

Troy's example uncovers the perceptions of power and dependency in the workplace. Troy was promoted to a position of authority, in title. Ideally, he would have been free to exert control over the other men. This could have been through giving orders or choosing the kind of work the men were to do. Within this scenario however, Troy was unable to govern his crew as they all rejected his authority as they did not consider themselves to be dependent on him at all. In fact, Troy had to work hard in order to appease them. In order to do this, he ended up giving his money away, thus becoming more subservient than actually attaining control. Rather than being a powerful man over others, he was forced to relinquish the capital that provided his status to the exact people who opposed him. This example shows that whilst an ideology of control in the workplace is ascribed to, materially, the execution of authority (in terms of having a functioning workforce), is sustained only through conceding some of that power.

Kinds of work

Fishing

The most prominent work that men did in Whitehouse was fishing. Thirty out of fifty-seven men who lived in Bottom Whitehouse had fished in the past or were presently fishing for a living. Since the area was settled in the 1940s men have always fished from the beach. In the past, canoes were used to go line fishing and to draw fish pots. Since the early 1980s fishermen have used fibreglass boats with a small outboard engine. This enables fishermen to extract fish from more productive but more distant areas and also to draw fish pots more quickly. Although new technology makes fishing less of a physical effort than in the past, unfortunately there are few fish available to be caught, as fish stocks have drastically declined in Montego Bay over the past 30 years. The costs of running a fishing boat are high and catches are generally small which means that in low seasons fishermen hardly make a profit. Although there are approximately twenty-five men who fish from Bottom Whitehouse, only fourteen actually live there. The rest live in nearby communities but either own or work on the boats kept in the area.

Entrance into the fishing industry was experienced in different ways. Some men, like Vince, mentioned above, did not start fishing until late in life. Starting in this way often came through knowing an individual who already owned a boat and was looking for someone trustworthy to run it. Other men took the opportunity of buying a boat in the 1970s and 1980s when loans were obtainable from the government. Those who were born in Whitehouse were said to be born into fishing. As children, they would go fishing with their father, or uncle or another member of the community and they continued to fish once they left school. Ken was 'born into' fishing and in fact considered himself 'born fi fishnin'- born to fish. Ken loved to go fishing. He loved the experience of catching a lot of fish and invested a lot of thought and effort into fishing, making him one of the most successful fishermen in Whitehouse.

Fishing in Whitehouse was done three or four times a week. Boats would leave the shore at sunrise whilst the sea was calm, and the weather cool. About half an hour would be spent trolling for fish, but for longer if catches were particularly plentiful. Fish traps would then be attended to. Men owned different amounts of fish traps, with some only owning four and others owning over fifteen. After all, or

some, traps had been hauled and replaced, fishermen would look to return to shore between ten and eleven in the morning when customers would be arriving at the beach to buy fish. Those who returned first would often have the easiest sale as there were plenty of customers. Those who returned later sometimes struggled to sell all of their catch but preferred to draw as many traps as possible in order that their fish would not be stolen at sea. When the fishermen returned with their catches, they would take out any fish they wished to keep for their own household, then place a bucket down or spread out their fish for customers to see what was available to buy. Fish was sold by the pound and weighed on hand scales by the fisherman himself with everyone watching.

Fishermen born in Whitehouse often had an advantage over others who entered the industry later in life. Skills acquired for catching fish whilst trolling, and knowledge of the sea bed and productive areas were gained whilst they were still young. This allowed their own fishing to be particularly productive as they did not need to experiment so much with the distribution of fish traps or fish handling.¹³ More significantly, fishing was experienced in a different manner as the relationships between owners, captains and crews were distinct. Fishing in Whitehouse involved two or three people. The owner, the captain and the crew. Some owners bought a boat as an investment but did not actually go fishing themselves. In these cases, another man would be designated as the captain of the boat. He would be supported by a crew. Owners who also went fishing would automatically captain the boat as well.

Whilst fishing, the captain would drive the boat at all times and find fish traps through landmark navigation and the use of a 'glass'- an open wooden box with a glass bottom. The glass bottom was placed just under the surface of the water and enabled the fisherman to find the specific site of his trap on the sea bed. The hauling of the traps onto the boat was the point at which fishing was most physically strenuous and this was necessarily done by both men. The labour

¹³ As fish stocks were declining in the area, some experimentation was considered necessary as fish were thought to get 'more clever' in their avoidance of being caught. In trolling, men experimented with different kinds of hooks and colourful plastic baits. Within trap fishing, men were forced to place traps in deeper areas of water in order to find fish but this ran a risk of losing traps to strong tides and poor visibility.

exerted in trolling was also equally done: both men would hold lines and draw in catches.

At sea, the labour was divided between crew and captains fairly equally, but there was a difference in social status which was more visible on land. The captain took complete control of the sale of fish and the distribution of wages. In paying wages, most captains stated to me that they took out money for petrol from the takings and then split the rest equally with their crew. Captains wanted to appear generous, as generosity was admired both in paying wages and giving gifts of money or goods (see Chapter Three). In practice however, this was rarely the case as the captain would always keep an extra cut for himself. Sometimes he would try and take more than normal and this often caused arguments (see below). Captains also maintained control of the use of the boat. Equipment would be kept in a locker to which only he had a key. This meant that at any point he could go fishing as there would usually be someone available to crew if the normal crew was not there. But a crew could only go to sea when his or another captain was wanting to.

The most significant difference in the experience of fishing between those born in Whitehouse and those outside, was with whom one worked. Those 'born into' fishing worked with family members, often their father or an older brother or uncle. In these cases the owner of the boat, normally the father, was also the captain and the child worked as the crew. The captain made decisions as to when and how to go fishing and controlled the selling of fish and distribution of money. However, as both men were members of the same family there was less competition between them. Men in Whitehouse were highly competitive with one another - competing for women, fish, respect, work, wealth, status and autonomy, as all were avenues to display entrepreneurial skills. Relations within the family though, were ideologically based on sharing, and the long term interests of the family as a whole. Although conflict still occurred within families over resources, such as money or land, they did not need to be competed for, because what one member of the family did not have, others were expected to give. Within fishing, this made the relations between fishermen less competitive. Although one individual still held more

control than the other, resources were not being competed for. Thus the captain did not need to try and take more than his fair share of the catch and the crew was not resentful as a result. Tom and Duke were an example of family fishing relations. They were brothers and were both in their sixties. They were of the first generation to be born in Whitehouse and grew up with fishing. Although each had worked in different industries from time to time, they always went fishing, and fished together nearly all their lives. Tom's eldest son also owned a fishing boat and would take his younger brother fishing. There was never any serious conflict over the distribution of fish catches or wages, and this was displayed through the longevity of the working relationship the men had.

Tourism

Young men in Whitehouse commonly worked within the tourist industry. Men were especially interested in working in the watersports departments such as scuba diving, glass bottom boat tours and party boat cruises. This gave men the opportunity to meet and flirt with female tourists, and men would flatter and give extra attention to women that they liked (see Chapter Four for more discussion). Men often moved from one job to another, working for one company for about two years at the most. Moving between companies and leaving a job was not perceived to be devaluing of a person at all. In fact it showed that the individual was being active in seeking ways to assert their own autonomy and be entrepreneurial in different contexts. Tourism was a prime context for this, as men could use different jobs to be productive in different ways. For example, by having access to diving equipment men could supplement their own fishing, or working on party boats meant men could take home free drinks to their friends.

Men within this industry also looked for better pay and working conditions and some undertook diving and lifeguard training courses in order to try and obtain higher paid positions. Bugus was one such example. He had grown up in the country but came to Montego Bay to find work. He found a job at Round Hill hotel driving the diving boat and taking tourists diving. He worked there for

over a year. After working there he got a job on a party boat that took tourists around the Bay. He was to organise entertainment and eventually was assigned a supervisory role. After working on that boat for a couple of years, he found another diving job at a different hotel. Whilst he was conducting this work he was also spear fishing in his spare time. Since he had diving equipment, he could catch good sized fish that lived in deep waters. When I met him he was spear fishing full-time and searching for a diving job again, but most of these jobs were badly paid and he did not take them as he considered his experience to warrant a higher salary. Eventually, he worked on another party boat for a couple of months and then went back to diving at Round Hill hotel under different management. He began to take a diving instructor's course so that he would be able to earn more money.

Informal economy

Young men in Whitehouse also held a range of jobs in the informal economy. Some ran a small car wash, others picked up work on construction sites or on trucks transporting goods. Two men drove taxis and others tried to set up their own trading businesses.

Women in Whitehouse also worked although there was a higher rate of unemployment amongst women.¹⁴ Women mainly worked in service work, either as domestics in private accommodation or hotels, and waitresses in small local restaurants or large hotels. In Jamaica as a whole, women were prominent in the informal market system selling food or clothing in markets in town or as higglers on the streets (Katzin 1960, Mintz 1974: 216, Besson 1993: 25, McKay 1993: 279). In Whitehouse there was only one woman who sold fish in the market downtown. The rest preferred to make a little extra money from 'hustling' within Whitehouse. Those who owned freezers would store fish for fishermen for a cut in their profits; others washed clothes, or sold a few food items from their houses. One woman

¹⁴ Being unemployed was not a term used within Whitehouse. If someone was without a job of any kind, it was said that he or she was not working. Not working implied that this was a temporary scenario. The notion of unemployment is ill-fitting in this context as it draws upon a western ideology of employment which presumes permanence and a career. As these ideologies are not found in this Jamaican framework, it is inappropriate to consider people without a permanent job as unemployed.

would buy fruit from the market on a Saturday morning and sell it on the fishing beach on a Saturday and Sunday. Women also owned small shops and bars. Women always worked behind the bar of a drinking establishment even if it was owned by a man. Although bars were not fraternised by women, it was said that men did not like to have their drinks served by men. Men liked to flirt with the women who worked behind bars, and the barmaids perpetually received sexual invitations, comments and innuendoes.

Young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five were a group with the highest unemployment within Whitehouse. Although all individuals were expected to "make a living" it was accepted that if young women could not find employment, they could stay in the family home and be economically supported by their kin. It was advantageous to have at least one woman of a household at home as she could then look after any children of the family. Young men, on the other hand, were expected to be supporting themselves, rather than being dependant on their parents or other kin. Men needed their own money to demonstrate masculinity and therefore were always looking for opportunities to make money even if they did not work.

Payments

Those working in the informal economy earned and received their money on an ad hoc basis. Fishermen would catch differing amounts of fish on a daily, weekly and yearly basis. This was especially true for those who did 'ocean' fishing for large fish, such as, bonito (mackerel) and marlin. Men could go fishing many times without catching anything, and then twice in one week catch over 100 lb. of bonito (£130) or a 300 lb. marlin (£400). It was the prospect of these large catches that made men particularly interested in this kind of work. It was also the hope of large payments that attracted men to other kinds of work. Boysie was once asked by the local hotel to work for them full-time as a boat engineer. He refused, however, on the basis that if he worked for them he could get paid J\$3000 (£50) a week, whereas conducting his own business he might make J\$4000 in one job. Earning so much from one assignment was rare though, in fact, on a weekly or

monthly basis Boysie would earn approximately the same amount of money working for himself as he would if he worked on a regular basis for someone else.

But work that held the opportunity of windfalls was especially attractive. This included the drugs trade where although work was generally well paid, there was a chance that big 'deals' could be struck where considerable amounts of money (e.g. £500) could be made overnight. For most young men in Whitehouse, receiving a regular, but small wage was not as attractive as work that promised irregular though large payments. Receiving windfalls was more appealing as it was this money that enabled men to 'show off' and exert their machismo or *man-a-man*, through spending money publicly (see Chapter Three).

In Tahiti, according to Finney (1984), workers are able to make more money through wage labour than through farm work. Wage labour is called "money work" and it is this kind of work that is preferred as it brings "fast money" (1984: 238). "Fast money" enables individuals to buy a car or motorcycle and other goods as money is earned quickly and steadily (*ibid.*). In Jamaica, earning money "fast" through windfalls also enables the quick purchase of goods. Earning small amounts of money on a regular basis, men attempted to show their spending power through buying drinks for other men or clothes for their girlfriends but this would be limited by what he could spare. Men would have to control what they could use publicly in relation to what was needed for their own needs and that of their family. With large payments though, men would have more freedom to spend money publicly and overtly. They could immediately buy expensive items which otherwise could only have been bought through long-term saving or higher purchase.

There was a distinct gender division in the kind of earnings preferred. Women were not as orientated towards windfalls of money as men were. Women usually sought work that would supply regular wages on a daily, weekly or fortnightly basis, such as working in a hotel or restaurant. The businesses that women owned were predominantly shops and restaurants where a regular clientele could be established. Furthermore, women did not show off their earnings in the same way as men. Their wages were primarily orientated towards the family,

their own children and their siblings and parents (see Chapter One). In supporting the family, it was most important to earn money on a regular basis so that food could be bought and household expenses provided for. Whereas young women could show off clothing or jewellery that was bought for them by men, the money that they earned themselves was expected to go towards the family. In fact, if a woman had young children and she chose to spend her earnings on the latest hair style, for example, she would be looked upon with disdain by other women for her irresponsible behaviour.

Occupational multiplicity

Occupational multiplicity, that is, working more than one job at a time, is common throughout the Caribbean (Comitas 1973), and has been noted recently in Trinidad amongst factory workers (Yelvington 1995: 214-5). Yelvington argues that occupational multiplicity is a necessary response to the exploitation of factory workers who require extra informal work and “webs of mutual assistance” in order to survive (*ibid.*). As he points out, however, this only sustains low pay in the factory, as workers take it upon themselves to subsidise their factory work.

A number of individuals in Whitehouse also had multiple occupations, often with at least one occupation in the informal sector. Fishermen, for example, had a range of other work they conducted. One repaired boat engines, another had a small shop, another sold tea and coffee in the mornings, and another was a musician in a hotel. Women also held more than one job, selling a few food items from their home, or using their freezers to store fish for fishermen. Most secondary jobs for women were done at home so that they could fulfil their household duties and look after children.

While having more than one job increases the amount of money an individual obtains, in Whitehouse it seems that occupational multiplicity was about more than the procurement of extra money. One factor is the instability of work. Within both the formal sector and informal sector of the economy, it can never be taken for granted that a person will always be able to stay in the job that they have,

or that they will find work on a regular basis. Men working in the construction industry, for example, are often taken on a job on an informal basis. They are called as and when builders need them and may not work for weeks at a time. These men do other forms of work as well, so that they can still be earning money when there is no construction work available. Diversification is also found within the agricultural and marketing economy. Here, farmers, higglers and retailers are all reluctant to invest in one crop or produce. Diversification is preferred so that fluctuations in the market do not ruin businesses or wipe out small farmers upon whom the other members of the marketing system are dependent (Mintz 1974: 220-1).

Even those who work in a hotel or bank do not have the assurance that their position is secure. Tourism is seasonal and workers are often laid off in low seasons. Furthermore jobs are not always secure in high seasons as relationships between workers and employers are often tense and fragile. That is, tensions and arguments arise quite frequently and workers often leave, or feel forced to leave their work through "not getting on" with their boss. I will explore this tension in more detail later, but the importance of having more than one job is evident when the insecurity of work is considered.

While the fluctuation in work availability lends itself to occupational multiplicity in order to gain money, it should not be presumed that this fluctuation, is perceived negatively. As I have shown above, men especially desire to earn money in windfalls and are not necessarily looking for a steady long term job. Furthermore, working in different occupations, for different people, or for oneself, are all actions which are valued in order to be self-controlled. Moving around from job to job in bourgeois thought may be seen as detrimental to building a solid career, but within Whitehouse it is idealised as it portrays independence and a strong concern for and ability in self-ownership. It is this aspect of occupational multiplicity that I now develop below.

Controlling wages

Occupational multiplicity needs to be understood through uncovering the perceptions of working for others. In answering what kind of jobs people prefer, almost everyone answered working for themselves. This was the most desirable kind of work and was often stated in terms of "having my own business". Individuals could have a clear idea of the kind of business they would like to have, such as running a taxi or a shop, others simply stated they would like their own business. Businesses allowed a significant element of independence and self-control. Fishermen talked about the work they had done in the past, such as working on building sites, or loading bananas onto boats, and although some of them enjoyed the work they used to do they preferred fishing because "there was no push around" and you could be "independent".

Working for other people involved notions of control and dependency. Individuals who worked directly for another person, such as a crew working for the boat owner, would face the possibility of being 'pushed around'. Firstly, employers simply had more money, which is why they were able to pay an employee. Having more money than others automatically places individuals in a position of potential power (see Chapter Three). Secondly, employers retain control over the disbursement of wages. Employers often looked for reasons to sanction their workers by withholding wages.¹⁵ For example, Wiggy was working for a small diving company. One afternoon the weather was very bad and no dives could take place. All administrative work had been cleared up and so Wiggy left work 15 minutes early. The next day the owner told him that he would not receive his pay for the day before as he had not done all the work. Wiggy explained that his boss was simply looking for an excuse in order to withhold his pay.

As employers always had more money than their workers, workers often felt that they were being 'used'. Working for somebody else meant that the employer was making money out of your hard work, and, moreover, was evidently

¹⁵ I use the term worker to refer to anyone who did not own their own labour in a Marxist sense. Owners, bosses or employers I consider as those who have all or at least part ownership of the means of production or some authority over those working for them. In fishing, for example, two men would generally fish together. Often one was the boat owner and the other the crew. In situations where the owner of the boat did not go fishing, one man would have the authority of being a 'captain'. His position was entrusted to him by the owner of the boat and he would make all decisions and control the selling of fish and the distribution of wages.

making more money than you. Even if employers, such as fishing boat owners, visibly worked hard themselves (they pulled up all the fish pots, for example) they still made a profit out of other people's labour and this was resented. Boat owners, bosses and employers were never really trusted. When employers used situations to withhold payments, they were attempting to exert control over the workers by catching them out. Owners would not keep wages for 'no reason', they would use situations or create them in order to legitimise their behaviour and place the blame on the worker. For example, if a boat owner needed extra money to buy fuel or fix the boat, he would say to the crew that he needed to keep extra money from the catch in order to pay for this, when according to the crew it is actually the owner's responsibility to save money out of his own profits for times of need. Thus workers felt that they were being 'tricked' out of money that was rightfully theirs.

In order not to be 'fooled' or manipulated by the boss, workers would respond with slander. They would argue with them and tell others quite openly that they had been treated badly in order to bring some shame upon the boss. By publicly denouncing their boss's behaviour, it was shown that they were not a 'fool' and could not be 'taken for an idiot'. Thus, the workers still perceived themselves to be in charge of themselves and their labour. Although workers would attempt to shame owners publicly, each time an owner succeeded in withholding money from workers, their power was affirmed.

In order to diminish the control bosses had over them, workers would seek to earn money in different ways. By earning money through higglering or some other means, workers were able to say that they were "dependant upon no one". This did not mean that they did not need the money earned through working for someone else. They did. The statement was an expression that they did not perceive themselves as dependant on their boss for money. If they wanted to, they could leave at any time, especially as they had alternative forms of income. Even though they needed the money that was being earned through working for somebody else, having alternative means of making money, and especially sources that did not involve working for others, increased the independence of the worker from their employer.

Furthermore, if we return to consider the legacy of the dual economy set up through the plantation system, then it is evident that in the Jamaican economy workers were involved in two kinds of work: formally at the plantation, and informally for their own subsistence and consumption. Similarities can be seen today therefore, where an individual works for someone else, in the formal or informal economy, and also for themselves, mainly in the informal domain. Of course today, workers receive pay for all work they do, unlike slaves who did not receive earnings for their labour from their owners. But as I have shown, control is still exerted by bosses today in withholding wages from workers, and it is a power that workers mitigate, by working for themselves and by occupational multiplicity.

Self-control and autonomy

Within the workplace, individuals were active in avoiding the "push around" by employers. On a basic level, this included bosses "telling you what to do". Jamaicans often distinguished themselves, in comparison to the wider Caribbean, as a people whom no one could "tell what to do" - "no one can tell me what to do, I am a Jamaican". People often laughed at the stories of those having to work so hard in England or the USA, and of the conditions in which they worked. Responses to hearing stories of those abroad led others to shake their head in disapproval and say "you wouldn't find me doing such things. No sir, no one go tell me what to do, me stay a Jamaica". Conflict was commonly found between workers and employers in relation to different views of what work a job entailed. For example, one woman was working as a cashier in a supermarket. Her boss then told her that she should clean the shelves as well. This was seen by her as totally outside the requirements of her job. She said that the boss was just trying to use her, and to see what he could get away with. She refused to do the cleaning but she then got dismissed.

Other individuals often left their work when they thought that the boss was attempting to "use them". When workers thought they were being 'cheated' out of money or being burdened with extra work, some left claiming they were being 'used' by their boss. They would not make any formal complaints, especially if

working within the informal economy, but would express to others that their boss was “no good” and “didn't treat people right” in an attempt to brand them 'mean'. No compensation would be given when they left the job. Individuals responded with pride that they would not allow others to take advantage of them. “If you nah treat me good, me nah take from you, me would rather suffer”. Leaving a job without having another one to go to was sometimes preferable to staying in a job and being used. I was astounded that although unemployment was so high, people left jobs regularly in response to “disagreeing” with the boss, and not seeing “eye to eye” over what they should do. Individuals in Whitehouse, both men and women, were active in their negotiation of work in order that they might assert self-ownership as much as possible. Workers would not accept being devalued or 'tricked', as this was limiting of one's personal autonomy. Women were also considered vulnerable to being used by their bosses through sexual harassment in order to obtain or keep a job, although no one in Whitehouse told me of such a personal experience. Whilst status can be gained from asserting autonomy in such contexts, it is important to recognise that material limitations remain. The individual is 'free' from a negative relationship, but is also left without work and therefore without money. A drop in income can often be too detrimental to an individual or family and thus individuals may be forced to remain working for a boss even though they would prefer to leave.

The ability to leave employment without concern for future employment prospects, showed a commitment to an ideal of self-control and ownership. This ideal encompassed an orientation towards the present, rather than the future. The way of life for most people in Whitehouse was described by all as “hand to mouth”. That is, people had just enough money to get by. Money earned was spent immediately on food and the household. Workers had to “take life day by day”. Thus leaving a job was fitting with this perspective. By focusing on the present day, workers were able to exert their own autonomy as and when they needed to. Money would have to be found in some way to get by, but every day was experienced like that. This experience contrasts with that of the migrant. As migrants are committed to working for the future, they often work in harsh

conditions (Wallman 1979: 9). People who returned to Jamaica from England and the USA often spoke about how hard they had to work and how badly they were treated. This was tolerated by the migrants since they were determined to save money in order to return to Jamaica as successful travellers.

In industrial societies, social relationships at work are supposed to be different to those in the domestic sphere. They are considered to be less personal (Cohen 1967 in Wallman 1979: 5). But in Jamaica this distinction did not always hold. For although the workplace contained a structured hierarchy, where workers were expected to follow instructions from bosses, people would not let their workplace become an environment where they could be 'used'.

A quite different scenario is one of theft. Although theft from the workplace is commonly considered an 'everyday form of resistance' (Scott 1985), in Whitehouse, this analysis does not encapsulate the complexity of Jamaican values. For example, Bagga was a fisherman who also ran a small food stall in the mornings. He sold tea and fried dumplings, which people bought as they were on their way to work downtown. The business was fairly successful. As he went fishing about three or four times a week, Bagga was not always around to run his stall. He hired another man, Sadi, who although relatively old, lived alone and spent most of his time on the fishing beach. Sadi would cook and sell the food if Bagga did not come in from the sea early enough, and then Bagga would take over afterwards. Bagga presumed that Sadi would 'take' a bit of money out of the profits but he did not mind too much as he often ran errands and went to the market for him, thus making up in favours what he took in cash. Bagga then found out that Sadi was not treating the customers 'right'. He was rude to them, and furthermore was not always there to serve people. Other owners of businesses, whether small or large complained that their workers did not care how well the business was doing, and were certainly not concerned as to how the owner needed to run the business efficiently. There was a special disregard for any worries the owners had.

Sadi's reaction to Bagga when approached about his misconduct was that it was improper for Bagga to accuse him of such things. Sadi didn't like Bagga telling him how to treat people. Immediately, Sadi denied the behaviour and started

'cussing' him in order to turn the attention away from himself. Bagga explained that Sadi had started to take advantage of his employment since he had started to "get a bit of money in his pocket". As Sadi was earning money and able to be less dependent on others, he got more confident to take from the business and attempted to secretly exert control over Bagga by limiting the wealth Bagga would gain. This led Bagga to see workers as untrustworthy and ungrateful. "When you try to help someone they come back and crucify you. Dey disrespect you de most".

Up until Sadi's behaviour changed, the two men had maintained a good working relationship. Both Bagga and Sadi were men who 'kept themselves to themselves'. They would sit quietly on the fishing beach after the morning's business had finished. Neither were interested in the day to day competition between men on the fishing beach - they did not get into arguments, they did not gamble and they did not 'show off' their money in any way. Sadi and Bagga had few disagreements with each other, despite the fact that Sadi had been working for Bagga for over six months. Bagga had felt sorry for Sadi when he initially took him on. Sadi had no family or male friends to support him. He used to get by doing odd jobs around the fishing beach or begging fish to eat. Although Sadi had 'disrespected' Bagga, Bagga still felt sorry for him and did not want him to have to resort to his old ways. After a short period of time Sadi needed his job back. Although it meant a loss of respect for Sadi to go back to work for someone whom he had tried and failed to 'ruin' he did go back. Bagga was unusually kind and allowed Sadi one more chance to do the work well.

Here, it is possible to see that Sadi's actions were misplaced. Sadi and Bagga had a good working relationship, and Bagga had never attempted to exert control over Sadi, either through withholding wages or giving him work which he objected to. In stealing from Bagga, and being caught, Sadi was lowering himself in terms of asserting his autonomy. If Sadi had felt that the business was constraining his autonomy, and wished to show himself as deserving more than what he had, then the more respectful way to display skill and entrepreneurial character would have been to leave that job and set up his own business or find someone else to work with.

In order to excel in self-ownership, most people would look to find some kind of 'independent' work - work where "you is your own boss". In this kind of work, no one could tell you to do something you didn't feel like doing, no one could rush you, and no one could get angry with you if you missed a day's work. Traditionally, fishermen would go to sea by themselves. Canoes were designed to hold one man and he would do all the fishing by himself. Men who did not own fibreglass boats would also still fish alone, whereas others would go in pairs. Those who used fibreglass boats would troll for bonito, kingfish and barracuda as well as drawing their fish pots. This would require one man driving the boat and another working the fishing lines.

Shops and stalls were also run single-handed although some more successful bars and food outlets would require more staff. In most cases owners would employ their family, normally a daughter, to take on the extra work. Female relatives were often found working together in shops or on stalls, as male relatives were involved in fishing. In fact, all of the shops in Whitehouse were owned by individuals but employed family members when labour was needed. As family members were expected to support each other, they were more trustworthy and less likely to be used or tricked by each other. A woman who employed her daughter to run a shop or restaurant could rely on her. As family members were expected to share their resources, and young women especially were able to rely on parents and siblings for economic support, working for another member of the family was not seen as a dependent relationship. Members were fulfilling their obligations to each other. Thus a woman who worked in a shop for her mother would be less likely to leave the employment or dispute her work, rather, both parties were simply fulfilling their obligations to provide for one another. Furthermore, income generated from both the mother and daughter was put back into the family. Therefore, if a daughter was consciously to ruin the business this would in turn affect her own financial position as her mother would not be able to support the family as well. In fact, the more successful the business was, the more the whole family had to gain. Thus daughters would actively support the increase

in wealth of their mother, even though she was the owner of the business and the employer.

Here a comparison may be useful. The Paruaros of the Amazon floodplain share a value in personal autonomy and this is also evident in their values of work (Harris 1999: 202). The Paruaros consider an element of freedom is lost in working for a boss, and wage labour in the city is seen as the epitome of this. People are proud to say that they have never worked for anybody else, that they have always been their own boss, and will not involve themselves in wage labour in order to retain their freedom. However, peasants do engage in wage labour in urban centres at times, but Harris argues that this is done in order to meet new people and gain experience of the world. Making money is not the primary aim, as remittances are not sent back and money is not saved, although individuals do buy modern consumer goods and food. When individuals return to the floodplains, there is no sense of failure, but simply a desire to come back to a preferred way of life (ibid.: 202-4). In similar ways to the Paruaros, Jamaicans see their freedom as being limited when working for others. The employer-employee relationship is one of unequal status and thus an arena where individuals can promote and defend their autonomy. In Whitehouse individuals seek to avoid dependency on one employer and thereby minimise a sense of vulnerability. If individuals do feel that their self-control is being compromised in one relationship then they may abandon it without any serious material damage to themselves.

For the Paruaros (Harris 1999) and peasants elsewhere (see Pine 1999 for example), this behaviour is a form of resistance to working for others, and occurs simultaneously to resisting the purposes of a dominant group and their agents. For those in the Amazon basin it is both the *gente fina* - the urban elite, and the *marreteiros* - middle men, who control access to resources (Harris 1999: 201). For the Gorale people in Poland it is those outside the community and, in particular, the state (Pine 1999: 50). In South Africa black workers were held in direct relations of dependency with whites, as whites maintained authority through their ownership of farms and industry (Loudon 1979: 127-8). In the past, those in dominant positions of power in Jamaica were easily identifiable. White plantation owners, the white

and brown elite, and colonial authorities, for example, were all actively opposed through plantation rebellions, black power movements (Palmer 1989) and political action for independence (Thompson 1997: 48-51).

For those in Whitehouse at the time of my fieldwork, however, it was not just 'big men', the 'politician' or the 'white man' that was seen to limit the autonomy of individuals in everyday life. It was almost anyone and everyone, including people within the community. For in Whitehouse it was really anyone who told you "what to do". Relationships which were not contested in this way, were kin relations.¹⁶ This was witnessed through the almost incessant conflict that was found between workers and anyone for whom they worked and was observed most clearly with young women and men. Within fishing, men who did not own boats would work for another man only for a limited time unless they were family.¹⁷ Dale, a twenty six year old man fished with five different men over the space of a year. Each time he stopped working with someone he explained that they were trying to get him to do too many dirty jobs or they wanted him to 'bow down to them', which he was not prepared to do. Each time he stopped working for someone there was an argument that had led to the decision. Yet older men and women stayed in their jobs and working for others for longer periods of time. Patricia, for example, was in her forties and worked in the kitchen of one of the restaurants, helping to prepare the food and clean up. She had worked there for over three years as she got on well with the restaurant owner, another woman over sixty years old. Two women over sixty years old, had worked in the same hotel for over ten years. Geoffrey, in his sixties, had worked as a musician in a hotel for over five years. As it was predominantly men and women under the age of forty that avoided being tied down to one particular person or job. This suggests that personal autonomy was most sought during young adulthood.

¹⁶ As I have shown in the previous chapter, the morality of kinship relations creates exchanges that are built upon equality and collectivity. This continuous provision maintains relationships through the long term.

¹⁷ Fathers and sons, and brothers worked on fishing boats together for many years, whilst non kin tended to last a few months. I also found that father and son-in-law (legal or common law) also worked together over time, and in one case this relationship was sustained even though the daughter had died.

Businesses

'Business' was a very distinct category of work in Whitehouse. The aim of having a business, apart from working for oneself, was primarily to make money out of money, or to make money out of nothing. The dream of a successful business was to take a small amount of money and turn it into a large amount. A business would also allow individuals to have others working for them, enabling individuals to claim greater status. As a business grew, owners would be marked out for their success by the number of people working for them. One woman once remarked on how successful one of her friends was. He had started out as a tailor simply with his wife and a sewing machine. Eventually, he owned a shop downtown with eight people working for him.

What made a business so distinctive, was the use of the 'brain' to make money. Businesses were founded in order to make as much money as possible with as little labour as possible. The 'brain' or 'mind' was at the heart of success. In other areas of life being unable to control one's mind would lead to disaster. People didn't use their brain when they foolishly spent all their money (see Chapter Three), drugs were said to affect the brain and 'mash people up'.

Thus, the brain was an important quality of a person. Other significant qualities of a person were strength, the body, and reputation. Both men and women were required to have strength. Men needed strength in order to have machismo – or rather, to be *man-a-man*. *Man-a-man* was secured or lost through competing with other men, be it, for example, in fishing or 'bad' deeds, and also in sustaining sexual relationships with women (see Chapters Three and Four). Women required strength to survive particularly difficult periods of economic hardship when they had children to provide for and 'no money coming in'. The body was a prominent quality of a person in women more than in men. For women, it was a resource that was used to attract men and secure economic gain. If necessary, women would use their body for economic purposes through prostitution, but many young women asserted agency and control over men through the use of their bodies (see Chapter Four for an in depth discussion of this). More recently, however, men have begun to use their bodies in this 'female' way, by attracting and using tourist women (see

Chapter Four). The respect and reputation acquired by men and women depended upon their behaviour towards others, largely assessed on their generosity in giving money to those in need (see Chapter Three). Individuals were then judged to be a 'good' person or a 'mean' person. These attributes of a person qualified the use of 'the brain' in business. For example, a woman might have used her brain in starting a business, yet if she had a bad personal reputation in the way she treated people, she was unlikely to be successful.

I was often told that the city, a place where everyone came to find money, was where people came to use their brain. Those in the country made money from farming, from cutting cane or keeping a few cows. It was physical work that earned little and took a long time to produce a profit. But those who came to the city, were coming to use their brain. This was not using skills and information learnt through the education system, in fact it was the opposite. Those who could not read or write, had to use their brain even more. Using the brain was to be clever, to outwit others, to fool them, and hopefully to do better than them. It involved both being creative, often in averting the law, and also being subversive in competing with others. Businesses provided avenues for this and were the playground of the trickster.

Once again, a comparative example is illuminating. In Poland, the informal economy flourished after the Second World War as wage labour was so poorly paid (Pine 1999: 54). People began to produce and trade goods such as vodka, sheepskin coats and gold, often from materials stolen from the formal workplace. Outside the household, individualism and trickery were celebrated and the informal market was an avenue for innovation and entrepreneurial skill. Breaking migration laws and fooling the system were practices greatly admired. Women, for example, managed to outwit immigration as they left their young children in Poland and went to the USA. Women stayed for a number of years rather than weeks, assured that their own mothers were raising their children. Anyone who made money through such practices proved that they had the ability to play and win in the informal economy (ibid.: 56-7).

In much the same way as for the Gorale in Poland, businesses in Whitehouse were a creative means of pursuing individualism and autonomy. For women in Jamaica, businesses often started from very little and were built up over time.¹⁸ Most would start by trading some food or making clothes through buying a second-hand sewing machine. For example, some women started businesses with a single basket of fruit. They bought cheaply from the market and would sell at a higher price around town or the fishing beaches. As they made a profit, they would invest in a wider range of products, such as biscuits, soft drinks and alcohol. Once they had a large stock they would make a permanent stall and hopefully turn that into a shop, which would be a proper building, preferably concrete, with a counter and many more products. Many women in town did this kind of higglering business but few actually managed to make so much money as to be able to build their own shop. Most would remain at the third stage of having a small stall, as running costs were still manageable.

Laverne was a well educated woman who was unable to find a good job. She decided to invest in some clothing and food that she would sell in the market in Falmouth, the largest market on the north west coast. She had studied business at the University of the West Indies and had been able to spend some time working in the USA. In setting up her stall in the market she decided to sell 'exotic' and imported food as opposed to the more traditional items that were sold by the other women. The business was quite successful. But shortly after she began to do so well, the other women nearby began to copy her idea until nearly all were selling these products. Eventually, Laverne gave up her market place as her profits fell and she was not making as much money as she desired. Laverne was frustrated that she had used her initiative in order to make her business successful, and the other women had simply copied. Rather than the other women also thinking of how they could diversify their products and do well individually, they had copied what she had done, creating a situation whereby no one, including themselves, was able to do well. In fact, although Laverne felt frustrated by the limitations placed on her

¹⁸ Building up a business over time was different to making a career in management, for example. In professional roles workers would need to "bow down" to those above them in the hope of being promoted. Most people preferred not to do this and therefore looked to have their own business instead.

success, this was exactly the plan of the other women. They had been using their brain. Stopping others from doing well in their businesses was being clever, it was making a fool out of them, especially if the opposition was to give up.

The limitations placed on other people in order to prevent economic success is a similar phenomenon to what Foster (1965) calls, 'the image of limited good'. Foster argues that peasants view their environment as one that is limited, in that all things such as land, love, friendship, wealth and respect are finite in quantity and are in short supply. As a consequence of this, any individual or family that wishes to improve their economic status must do this at the expense of others (ibid.: 296-7). The women in Falmouth market share this view. It is seen as necessary to control the wealth of others in order make money themselves. If one woman is getting ahead, this threatens the position of the other women (cf. Foster 1965: 305). In limiting the success of Laverne, the women were achieving two things at once. They were protecting their own economic position by limiting the success of Laverne, and by using their brains in the process, were enhancing their own agency and personal autonomy - they were exerting control over others and not allowing them to get ahead.

In Whitehouse there was a continual competition, even conflict, between the two women who ran the two bars on the beach. Both women were always looking for ways to outsmart each other. This was not necessarily in doing new things to attract customers, although at times one would give away soup or set up some 'music'¹⁹ perhaps, but each was looking to cause problems for the other - they would gossip about and slander each other, in order that people would be 'put off' buying there. Both were said to practice *obeah*, a kind of witchcraft, against each other.

A combination of skill and luck was needed to keep a business running. Few women actually made enough money from small trading to build up a bigger establishment. As has been shown, others would try and limit their profits. Both women who ran bars were considered lucky as they received money from men to

¹⁹ 'Having a music' was synonymous with holding a party within the vicinity of the bar. A professional music system would be hired, which would play music at a level where all those in the community could hear. Both men and women from the area and outside would come and drink, and men would often play dominoes and ludee.

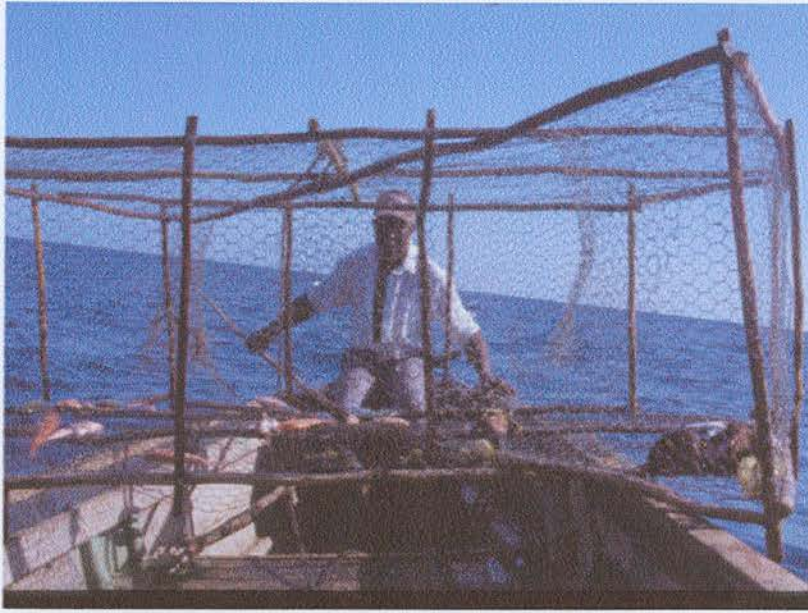


Plate 3. A typical, poor catch for a Whitehouse fisherman.



Plate 4. An informal "restaurant" business on the fishing beach.

set up their businesses initially. They would not have been able to build their establishments otherwise. Although their luck enabled them to start out, it was really using their brain that allowed them to keep their businesses going. They needed to be well mannered towards their own customers, although one, who was somewhat younger, was particularly bad at this and a number of people in the community did not shop there. They also needed to keep limiting each other's wealth and so would continuously attempt to destroy the other's reputation.

Although men were also higglers and petty traders in Montego Bay, there were none within Whitehouse. Men were more interested in making money quickly and higgling was a slow process. In Whitehouse, one man fixed boat engines, another ran a car wash and a third hired jet skis. All were fairly successful although they also had to protect themselves from other people's negative behaviour. In fixing engines in particular, Boysie was often confronted by fishermen he knew wanting him to fix their engines but who were unable to pay him at the time. Often when he did the work under such circumstances, he never received the money, despite the promises made.

Through owning a business, individuals were able to make money out of others. Whereas being an employee always meant that the boss was the one who was really profiting, in owning a business, individuals were able to reverse the situation of being used, and in fact use others, even indirectly. Higgling, for example, enabled individuals to buy products and then make money out of others by selling them for more. Even though the mark up was small, each time they sold an item, they gained. In fixing engines, other people's lack of knowledge enabled Boysie to make money out of them.

Having one's own business, opportunities would also arise where customers could be tricked or fooled for the joy of the entrepreneur. Boysie was often able to fool his customers. Fishermen travelled from different beaches with their engines for him to fix. Many a time Boysie would tell them to come back in a few days as the engine wasn't ready, even though by looking at the mechanical problem he knew it might only be an hour's work. Sometimes he would tell them he was waiting for a spare part and keep them hanging on for over a week. Fishermen

would be impatient to get their engines fixed as each day of waiting was a loss of earnings. When fishermen went away disappointed and frustrated that they could not get their engine back Boysie would sit with his tools in his hand and laugh.

Being creative and using trickery was also extended towards tourists in Montego Bay. Aside from the men who 'professionally' used women to make money through sexual relationships (see Chapter Four), there were many other men who would 'fool' tourists. Some simply charged extra for a taxi ride or a bottle of beer but others were more inventive. I was warned about men who acted as though they knew you. Coming up to a tourist they would say "hi, how are you? Do you remember me? I work in your hotel." They would chat politely for a moment or two and then offer to get drinks ready for when the tourists returned to their rooms that night. Of course no drinks would be there, but the trickster had got money 'out of them'.

Similar offers of hospitality were made to tourists and to Jamaicans. This was not in the form of making money out of the moment but was a more long term plan. Pete was staying at a guest house for a few months while he was looking for somewhere more permanent to live. When he first moved in, the female owner was very kind to him, asking him if everything was OK and sometimes cooked him a nice breakfast. Shortly afterwards she started making requests for lifts into town as Pete had a car. It later dawned on Pete that he had turned into her personal taxi service and found it very difficult to say no without causing big arguments, with the woman reminding Pete how she had welcomed him into their home. I consider this behaviour 'political hospitality' whereby individuals offer friendly services in order to try and gain something in return at a later date. Different people constantly complained of this behaviour in Whitehouse, as individuals were said to be nice to you at first in order to see what they could 'get out of you'. Once they realised they couldn't 'use you' they had no further interest.

The creativity and trickery used in business increased the personal autonomy of individuals. As Pine says for the Gorale "it is in the performance of the deal, in the active agency of the dealer, that the liberating individualism of this trickster behaviour is most clearly seen" (1999: 58). Having a business, individuals

were able to limit the wealth and power of others, they were able to make money out of others, and also simply fool them or restrain them in order gain agency.

Conclusion

Work is an area of life that has the potential to limit an individual's freedom. Within Whitehouse, however, in order to assert control over oneself and one's labour, individuals do not perceive themselves to be dependent on an employer or particular job. In order not to be perceived as in a relationship of dependency and submission, workers frequently change jobs and challenge the authority of their employers.

Working for other people still has some advantages. Most of this work is within the formal economy where a more steady income can be made. This kind of work is especially desired by older women, who need a more regular income to provide for the home. Some women, however, also leave places of unemployment that are considered to be restricting their autonomy, especially younger women.

In order to have money, but more significantly, to exert independence and personal autonomy, individuals take on more than one job. Making extra money from the home, women are able to combine the responsibility of caring for the family and making money for themselves from their own labour. Conducting work for others and also for themselves, men are also able to gain independence and not feel controlled by their boss or employer.

Work in the informal economy, allows much movement and freedom. Individuals are able to avoid being "pushed around" by exerting their choice as to the behaviour they will accept from employers. They may refuse to do work they consider inappropriate or may leave that job altogether. The informal economy allows individuals to return to it time and again. Creativity and using the brain is celebrated, so much so, that fooling others is also a way to succeed. Not all individuals though, are able to choose the kinds of work they wish to conduct. This is the case for persons who are positioned at the bottom of the social hierarchy and considered 'worthless'. I shall explore the issues of status and hierarchy in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Public Space, Money and Status

Status and social hierarchy is a subject of interest in the Caribbean due to the region's history of domination and exploitation by firstly, the slave trade and colonial rule and, more recently, the global economic order. Within Caribbean societies, the exploration of race and class has kept the discussion of power and status largely focused on relations between social groups and I outlined these issues in the introduction to this thesis. Yet my fieldwork in Whitehouse highlights the significance of status within the 'working' or 'lower' class in Jamaica, and even within the community.

This chapter shows how status is acquired within Whitehouse, about how status and agency are signified within the community, and about how these signs and meanings are produced and reproduced through discourse and practice. The acquisition of money is perceived to be a route to status, as the display of wealth indicates self-control. However, it is not having money *per se* that proves one has the ability to govern one's own life, but rather the skill displayed in pursuing wealth. This chapter considers transactions, such as gambling, and ideologies, such as living in the present, that allow individuals to assert self-control and also to attempt to limit the control of others.

The focus of this chapter is status displayed in public space. This space is occupied most visibly by men, as men use this domain to compete for *man-a-man*. Control through money is an essential element in this arena. Women also ascribe to these values but obtain status as patrons in the community.

Power and money

Time and again, people all around Jamaica said to me, "Jamaica nice man, but you have to have money". This was not just a reference to the high cost of living in Jamaica. Money was considered to be much more than the means of exchange that enabled people to turn their labour into subsistence items for the family in

order to survive and to reproduce. Money was perceived as powerful and the source of power.

For a person to have real power or control over their own life and over others, they needed money. On a national level, those who had 'big money' - leading politicians, big business men, and drug traffickers - were considered to be the people who ruled the country. They were outside law and authority, as they were able to buy themselves out of any illegality, through bribing the police or others in positions of authority. It was said, for example, that the rich man's family never goes to prison.

All of these kinds of people were called "big men" and they exerted power in different ways. Towards the end of my stay in Jamaica an incident occurred in Kingston. A man called Zeeks was arrested and detained for embezzling money from the government. Those in the community he lived in, protested at his arrest by demonstrating in their local area and outside the police station where he was detained. People wrote placards stating how wrong it was for him to be in jail, and more violent reactions ensued, including setting car tyres on fire. The community members were not proclaiming he was innocent, as everyone knew he was guilty, but were demanding his release as they said everyone was hungry and unable to send their children to school. The reason for this was that apart from supporting his own luxurious lifestyle, Zeeks had been using the money to support other members of the community. As reports about Zeeks came through in the news, it became clear that he gave money to those who needed help to provide for their homes and families; he paid people to work for him and he supported many girlfriends. In fact, it was widely held that, as he was a big man, he economically supported the whole community. In doing so, he also gained control over the community.

'Big men' held authority. They settled arguments and disputes and were not afraid to use violence. Their authority often extended to maintaining their own justice system within a community. The police were sometimes afraid to enter such areas and turned a blind eye towards crimes committed. Those in Zeek's community were considered to be loyal to him, they protected him, worked for him

and he had their respect. He lived like a 'king', with the community following his instruction and receiving his money.

Political systems of patronage also operated throughout Jamaica. Some communities in Kingston were famously divided in their support for the two main political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP). Certain areas were known for being under the direct care of the leaders of each party. These areas were also highly protective of their patrons and would not even tolerate supporters of the opposition coming into their area. I was told how some areas were clearly bounded - with one side of the street supporting the PNP and the other the JLP. If supporters were to cross the street into the opposition's territory, they were open to serious attack, possibly even being shot.

Funds from the government are passed down from the MP to councillors in their constituencies. Councillors are expected to know the people of a community well; they may live there or have lived there in the past. It is mainly these councillors who build patron-client relationships with constituents, and as patrons are expected to find jobs for individuals, and lobby for infrastructural work needed in their communities (Edie 1989: 4-6). The government also has a number of relief programmes where grants are issued for work such as in construction sites, roads and cleaning gullies (ibid.: 7). The councillor will choose who will get the opportunity to work, or he will even have his own party activists in the community to do this. In return for their patronage, councillors and MPs receive political support. As unemployment is so high in Jamaica, political systems of patronage have become very powerful (Stone 1980: 94-5).

Local councillors and 'big men' wielded power in the community because they had money to distribute. At the time of my fieldwork, it was not simply local political activists or workers who were in these positions of power but anyone who "had money". They were able to exercise power over others because there were many people in the community who had "no money".

This ideology of wealth and power was subscribed to by people in Whitehouse, especially men. The idealised scenario was to have so much money that it was always possible to buy new consumer goods and give away money to

whomever they chose. Constantly having large amounts of money meant that one was always in a position to control, and no one could "tell you what to do". However, the wealthy men that set this standard of living, were able to sustain this lifestyle through their occupations, such as hotel ownership or drug laundering. Men in Whitehouse could only idealise about this kind of life and were thus limited by the reality of how much money they earned. Thus men in Whitehouse never really obtained power in such an idealised fashion. Nevertheless, the ideology remained and men used the money they did have as best they could to assert their own control and autonomy in order to achieve status.

Within Whitehouse people were ranked according to whether they had money or didn't have money. This ranking was by no means explicitly defined or marked with clear boundaries. Neither was it static. In fact, the upward social mobility and potential mobility of individuals allowed status to be competed for by nearly all members of the community and enabled each person to gain personal autonomy.

Social rank

Within Whitehouse, individuals were ranked according to the amount of money they had. There were those who "had money" or were "rich", those who were "poor" (the majority), and those who were "wutless" (worthless). There were approximately five people who were considered by nearly all in Whitehouse to "have money". Having money did not necessarily entail a very high standard of living, nor did it place individuals on a par with the 'middle class'.²⁰ Throughout this chapter I use the word class to describe a particular social grouping. However, these terms are not clearly defined in Jamaica (cf. Kuper 1976: 66), and in my experience individuals referred to a range of classifications. Two main groups were commonly identified - the rich and the poor, where the poor are considered marginal to society, and outsiders to 'real' economic and political power (Austin

²⁰ Middle class people would be considered to have more professional employment than those who "had money" in Whitehouse. Whilst a bar owner in Whitehouse may earn almost as much as a bank administrator, self employment and the informal economy did not offer the extra benefits of the more professional environment such as health insurance and sick pay. The middle class were also recognised as educated and well socialised.

1984: 149). Wealth is seen as being possessed along a continuum. One informant stated that there were nine classes in Jamaica - three main classes, each with their own upper, middle and lower strands.

The economic differences found in Whitehouse, symbolised a significant difference in status and control between the rich and others. The 'rich' had enough money to not be dependent on anyone else in Whitehouse, in that they did not need to ask for financial help off others, and could exert their own control over others. I shall expand on this below. Of the five rich people in Whitehouse, three were women, and two men. All obtained their money in different ways, although all were enterprising in one way or another. Edna, worked as a cleaner in one of the largest and most successful hotels in Montego Bay. Although she was just a cleaner, she was thought to "have money" because she personally looked after the suite in the hotel that belonged to the owner of the hotel chain, one of the wealthiest men in Jamaica, Butch Stewart. This implied that not only was she paid more than the average cleaner but it was also presumed that she would receive regular tips, treats or handouts from Butch Stewart himself. Edna also owned a small shop in Whitehouse that her daughter was expanding. Secondly, Lorna, owned one of the four bars in Whitehouse. She had built up a clientele of very wealthy businessmen and professionals who lived in Montego Bay. They would come to the bar of an evening and drink expensive spirits such as whisky, and sometimes order food. They liked coming to Whitehouse as the area was much quieter and cooler than anywhere downtown and Lorna gave them exceptional service, sometimes providing them with free food for their continuing custom. Her business was very successful, mainly because of the custom of these men. Thirdly, Miss Jule was the eldest of these women and had obtained her money from living most of her adult life in England. She simply came back to Whitehouse to retire.

The two men were Omar and Alvin. Omar was a fisherman, but earned most of his money through business trading. He was about 30 years old, and became wealthy very quickly, becoming by far the wealthiest person in Whitehouse. He worked for larger businessmen in town and he himself employed a number of young men in Whitehouse and the nearby community of Flanker. Alvin

was a 60 year old fisherman. He owned his own fishing boat and caught the most pot fish in Whitehouse. He always reinvested in his fishing equipment, making sure he had plenty of pots at sea in the good seasons, and maintained his position as the most successful fisherman year after year.

All of these people were considered to "have money" by the others residents of Whitehouse. Omar's wealth was very obvious. He had recently rebuilt his family's house and owned a brand new jeep, thus showing signs that he had "come into" money. Furthermore, everyone knew how prosperous his line of work was, as others in Whitehouse worked for him. The degree of wealth of the other rich people was less known. They were considered wealthy because they had more money than most in Whitehouse and also showed signs of this through their houses. They all had concrete houses, which were more expensive to build than board houses, and they were nicely furnished inside with expensive consumer goods such as settees, dressers and electrical equipment.

Poor people in Whitehouse were the majority who 'struggled' to get by. Some worked in tourism, others in fishing, and others in service jobs such as restaurants or driving taxis. Most who were not working, lived with, and were supported by, their families. For the poor, the main way to save enough money in order to spend on the house was to join a 'partner' - a rotating savings and credit association (see Ardener and Burman 1996 for a number of examples). A number of people, for example ten, make fixed, weekly (for example) contributions of money to 'a banker'. The entire pool of money is then redistributed to each member of the scheme (apart from the banker, unless they have also contributed) in turn, in as many weeks as there are people. The schemes continue rotating as long as those involved wish it to, with most people using a partner for between one and five years (Kirton 1996: 209).

A few men joined partners in Jamaica but it was women who were prominently involved. A common use of partners in Jamaica was to acquire enough capital to start a small business, mainly higglering. Higglering or 'hustling' is an informal system of trading throughout the Caribbean. In Jamaica food, clothing and small goods are bought in markets or abroad and sold in streets and other markets

through the informal economy. As higglering is dominated by women and women commonly obtain the capital to begin higglering through partners, Besson (1996: 273-7) considers partners an integral part of 'culture-building' and resistance to colonial and neo-colonial life for women. Therefore partners can be a means for women to enter into the informal economy and, for Besson (1996), resist neo-colonial powers.

Joining partners is also a way for women to practice self-ownership. Investing in a schemes allows women to save money independently from other members of the household and thus raise capital for their own personal needs. Often though, money raised does go back into the household, for example, in buying new furnishings for the house. It is significant to note here the time difference in obtaining money through a partner as compared to the means which men commonly acquire money, such as gambling (see below). Men were keen to obtain money quickly whilst women were prepared to wait. Investing in a partner could mean waiting up to ten or twenty weeks for a hand. This had to be planned therefore, and was not a way to get money quickly.

The need to save money signifies the precarious position poor people occupy. Rich people are perceived to have money in abundance as they have permanent access to money through work, but also through family and rich friends. One of the ideals of being rich is no longer having to worry about how to manage economically should problems arise. The rich do not have to save money for a time when "trouble" may come. This could be in the form of sickness, the loss of employment or even the death of a wage earner in the family. Poor people are always vulnerable to financial crisis should "trouble". Partners are also a way of saving for times of "trouble".

Worthless people were individuals who had the least money. In order to obtain money, they would conduct the dirtiest and least favourable jobs such as cleaning fish, clearing yards, and cleaning the bottom of fishing boats. They would also beg money off others from Whitehouse or from people who visited the bars. They mainly lived in derelict buildings as they were not able to afford any kind of

rent or bills. They owned few items of clothing and were often dirty from the work they had done, and the lack of facilities they had to keep themselves clean.

'Help'

The amount of money people earned or received through networks was also a factor in judging who was rich, poor or worthless. Occupation itself was not an indicator of rank, as for example, in the case of Alvin who was considered rich even though he was just a fisherman, or Edna even though she was a domestic worker at a hotel. Rank actually depended on how someone maintained control over their person in the pursuit of money and what they did with it.

Rich people were expected to "help" others in times of need, for example, in helping children to get to school or to pay for someone's medical bills, and also to provide loans, just like 'big men'. Rich people had more money than was needed to support their own family, and were called upon to share it with others. Such a notion of sharing surplus resources is prominent amongst hunter and gatherer societies (see, for example, Ingold, Riches and Woodburn 1988).

Bird-David (1990) argues that the economic system of hunters and gatherers is based upon a view of the environment as giving. Economic modes of distribution and property relations are then also constructed in terms of giving (ibid.: 189). For the Nayak of south India, the natural environment is seen as a provider - something that always gives and will continue to give without expectation of a return. Thus when the Nayak request from each other, and give to each other, they give out of obligation as they have been well provided for, and not out of a calculated view of expecting a return. Nor is there any indebtedness (ibid.: 191).

Rather similar expectations were evident in Whitehouse. Primarily, the state should give. This was commonly stated by fishermen as they desired help with their falling incomes. The state should provide them with new boats and engines to fish new areas; it should give fishermen new wire to build more traps, or it should give them money to build better facilities on the fishing beaches.²¹ Second to the

²¹ In Montego Bay the role of the state as provider for fishermen was becoming secondary to the Montego Bay Marine Park (MBMP). MBMP faced difficulty in its management programmes in



Plate 5. One of the poorest members of the community is preparing food outside her house.



Plate 6. A more desirable house – this one is two storey and made of concrete.

state was anyone with money. This included businesses and wealthy individuals. In the past, for example, the nearby Sandals hotel had provided a building for fishermen to keep their equipment in. Those in Whitehouse with money were also requested to give to individuals who were in need.

After I had been living in Whitehouse for about 10 months, a friend of mine got very sick and had to go to hospital. When he came out, he couldn't afford to buy his prescribed medicine so I bought it for him. He told everyone in Whitehouse that I had helped him and from that moment on, people respected me a little bit more.²² Poor people would also be called upon in times of need if they were known or perceived to have "come into" money. Again, it was when individuals were perceived to have surplus resources that they were requested to share. Nadine for example asked a fisherman, who had recently been successful in fishing for J\$4,000 (£66) to buy her children new uniforms and pay their term fees. This was not to be a loan as she had no way of returning the money but she hoped that he might give her the money anyway as she was in need and he was in a position to help. Any person who is perceived to be able to afford to help someone, and on request does so, is rewarded with respect. On the other hand, anyone who refuses to help is disliked and gossiped about as mean. On this occasion Nadine did not receive help because the fisherman wanted a sexual relationship in exchange for helping her, but Nadine was not willing. Men often expected sexual favours from women when they gave them money, and I explore this in detail in Chapter Four. In this case, Nadine was hoping that the man would simply help her as she was in need but in fact he tried to use his more fortunate position to his advantage.

Worthless people were the least respected of all as they never "put their money to use". In Jamaica, individuals were expected to 'better' themselves, especially if they were born into a very poor household. Individuals were always trying to raise their social status in some way, for example through turning money

attempting to change fishermen's behaviour to conserve resources. Fishermen perceived the role of the MBMP to be one of a provider which should 'help' the fishermen by giving them resources rather than limiting what they could extract from the sea.

²² Up until that point I believe I did not have any respect as I didn't give money to anyone. As I was unsure of 'the rules' I considered it better not to give at all rather than be made the local bank. There were, of course, exceptions at times and I did buy drinks and give money to those who bought me drinks or gave me fish.

into more money (such as starting a business, as discussed in Chapter Two), or through the higher status of a sexual partner. Thus even if a person was poor, rank could still be acquired in being active and pursuing a higher position, even if this was not obtained. Worthless people, however, were inactive in attempting to better themselves. They settled for a permanent state of poverty and most often spent their money on alcohol, cigarettes or drugs before they even bought themselves food. Good food was considered vital for physical and mental well-being, and women would spend much time and effort in cooking food. Men would also learn to cook so that they would eat "good" in any periods when they were living alone. Worthless people however, would often spend money they had earned on alcohol or drugs, items which were non-productive, and then have to beg money to buy some biscuits or bread and cheese from one of the shops in order to eat. Because of their thoughtless and un-strategic spending, they were not able to save any money and pay rent for a decent room or begin to build their own house, for by the end of each day they would have spent all the money they had earned. Worthless people were said not to have any respect for themselves, and so did not receive any from anyone else.

Dependency

Relations between members of the community were defined in terms of who could give or lend money and who had to work and borrow money. This was especially clear in who was able to pay others to do basic work for them, and who had to do the work in order to acquire money.

Rich people were always able to pay others in the community to work for them and worthless people were the ones they used most. There developed clear patron - client relationships between these individuals. Patron-client relationships are characterised by an exchange of different kinds of resources with a degree of personal obligation and reciprocity. They are often informal and voluntary but are based on inequality and difference in power (Eisenstadt and Roniger 1984: 48-9). In Whitehouse these relationships were structured around informal work. Most

worthless people had one or two individuals that they repeatedly conducted work for. Often this work involved cleaning but also included the selling of fish and acquiring customers for their patron's business. Lorna, for example, had a young man whom she always called upon. Sa squash was in his twenties. He had some mental health problems and lived off bits of work he could do in the community as well as begging money and food off tourists. When Lorna wanted Sa squash, she would send word for him and he was expected to come right away. She would most often call him to scale and clean fish and to clean the bar. When she called for him, he had to come. If he became unreliable she would use one of the other worthless people and he would then lose his main source of income. Sa squash, like the others, had no control over the way he earned money. When people offered him work he had to take it, even though he would get paid less than others because he was considered worthless. His situation was markedly different to other people in Whitehouse. Those who were not considered worthless, perceived themselves to be in control of their self and their labour and so were not considered dependent on other people. Due to Sa Squash's drug addiction though, he could not afford to say no to work when it was offered to him, he was always desperate to find money. In Chapter Two, I described the pride people took in not having to work for others, and how people left their employment if they were not being treated properly. Worthless people were in no position to have such pride. They were the epitome of the exploited. They did not like the positions they were in - always being told what to do, being permanently underpaid and having no choices. Yet there was nothing they could do about it. They were dependent on their patrons and others because they had such limited access to resources and a total lack of control over spending their money.

Occasionally, clients fell out with their patrons. Jennifer, for example, would regularly clean the bar of another young woman called Hazel. Jennifer was always looking for money, as she too was addicted to cocaine. Jennifer did not get much work from others in the community as she was not hard-working and was very unreliable. On one occasion, Hazel told Jennifer to clean her bar and she did a terrible job. Hazel refused to pay her and Jennifer shouted and "cussed" her calling

her all kinds of things. For a while Hazel refused to let Jennifer clean the bar but after some time she called her back.

Worthless people were perceived negatively, because they did not act in accordance with the values prevailing within Whitehouse. Whilst the poor, and even the rich, did not have the power of those outside the community, individuals had their own freedom to be in control of their person. This included the body and the mind. In this way, respect and status could be gained through being active and creative in pursuing money, whether through working for others whom one chose to, or building appropriate social relationships, such as those through domestic networks, or even saving money, such as the women who used 'partner' schemes. Worthless people, however, did not display any signs of being productive in social life. They 'wasted' their money rather than trying to increase it, they did not have positive social relationships with kin or friends, and overall did not try to use their brain or body in a creative and versatile way. Therefore they were depicted as dependents and were open to use and control by others in the community.

The position of poor people in these relations fluctuated regularly. While they had money, they were able to pay others to wash their clothes or clean their fish, for example, but when they had little money they did such things themselves. Mark was a fisherman without a girlfriend or female relatives in Whitehouse. Whenever fishing was going well and he had money, he would pay one of the women in Whitehouse to do his washing. This would be someone he knew would do a good job, and could do with a little extra money. When periods of fishing were slow, and there was little work available for him, he would wash his own clothes. Thus poor people were sometimes in a position to display self-control and autonomy but at other times were unable.

The ambiguous status of the poor created a tension between them and the rich. As the poor did not have the money and ability to be permanently in control of themselves, poor people often expressed their dislike of the rich and often 'put them down'. One of the most common phrases was that rich people "go on like they are someone". Therefore having money in Whitehouse did not just entail having a certain amount of money, but also a moral stance. Rich people considered

themselves better than others because they had money. Having money meant having the ability to exercise power as patrons. As they were in a position to display independence - the goal everyone pursued, the rich perceived themselves as "better" and could 'look down' on others.

Rich people were said to pretend that they were people of great importance, and expected respect and gratitude from others who conducted work for them. One fisherman, Dale, often worked for Omar. Omar had a boat that needed some repair work and he asked Dale to do some of the painting. Dale was in need of money but did not want to be seen to be Omar's subordinate. He disliked the way Omar was simply able to call upon his labour when Omar needed it, and more so, disliked the fact that even though he did not want to work for Omar, he needed the money. Dale was planning on finding enough money to buy his own fishing boat, and no longer have to work for Omar or any other fishermen in Whitehouse. He often talked about trying to find money through borrowing from a cousin or old friend. Dale, like others, constantly complained about Omar and the way he treated people. As Omar had money, he expected people to "suck up to him" but Dale was going to show him one day that he didn't need him at all. After I had left, I heard that he had bought his own boat after some lucrative deals of his own.

Poor people were also in conflict with each other, as individuals tried to exert momentary control over one another when opportunities arose. One common example was in the selling of fish. Mr Jumpp was a fisherman who would often sell his fish to the different restaurants in Whitehouse. Mr Jumpp complained that in almost every place, when he gave them his fish, they always took a long time paying him for them. Sometimes it took weeks for them to give him the money owed. This strategy of delayed payment is also described by Breman (1994) for factory owners in India. In this situation, workers become more dependent on the factory and the likelihood of strikes and desertions is diminished (Breman 1994:248). For Mr Jumpp, the restaurant owners were 'going on like they were someone'. By keeping him waiting for the money, they were attempting to exert control over him and put him in a position of dependency. They were asserting superiority by keeping him in a position where he needed to repeatedly ask for his

payment. The prolonged asking for money was symbolic of low status people who beg money (Chapter Five). Even though it was his right to receive the money, he was forced to ask for it many times, placing him in a precarious position. Sometimes owners would keep telling him they didn't have his money until he eventually gave up asking. In these situations, the buyers used their position to gain both financially and politically over sellers. They had made extra money and gained agency as the sellers were left having being tricked out of what was rightfully theirs. In response, Mr Jumpp would not sell fish to them again until he needed to, so as not to get caught out again, and also in protest at their behaviour.²³ It should be noted however, that sellers did have the option of the legal system if they desired to use it. In selling fish and losing J\$500 (£8) this was not worth the time and effort, but in other cases such as selling a boat engine worth J\$100,000 (£1,600), individuals would take buyers to court if they were withholding payment.

In declaring those with money to be "going on like they were someone", individuals were not just complaining that the rich acted 'snobbish'. Nor was it an attempt to defile their character simply out of envy. Stating that they "were going on like someone" reveals that those with money were judged not to have made it - they were only going on like someone, pretending that they were of higher rank. In much the same way, Miller (1994: 271) argues that in Trinidad "there is a marked refusal to internalise class as an institutionalised form with its associated sense of deference and stability." Refusing to recognise the rich as powerful, their domination was subverted.

Conversely the fact that the wealthy people in Whitehouse were considered to be going on 'like' they were rich, also indicated that there were limits on exercising authority over others. Whilst some people were a patron or employer of others, the ability to exercise control was limited to those within the community. Within Whitehouse, men and women did not have the resources, both social and economic, to be like those who really were 'someone' outside the community. Outside the community, men had real access to the sources of big money - big

²³ The market for fish varied quite frequently. Apart from seasonal changes, the level of fish stocks were so low in the area that the supply of fish was often insufficient for businesses. Therefore restaurants also bought fish outside of the community. These fluctuations occurred on a weekly basis.

business, the government or to drug gangs. Stories of these men circulate through the media, through personal story telling and through personal experiences. These stories uphold an ideal that power is demonstrated through spending and giving away money to clients. Although men aspired to be powerful, the only arena where they could acquire rank was within the local community. Thus men stayed within the area in order to enjoy their autonomy as much as possible.

Money and masculinity

Both men and women, rich and poor, were able to exert control over others through their money in terms of buying people's labour or even withholding money from others that had earned it. But for men, the use and display of money was also a means to display masculinity. The ideal of being a 'big man' was impressed upon men, especially those between the ages of eighteen to thirty-five. Although Omar was the only 'big man' in Whitehouse, most young men tried to 'show off' that they had some money. One way to do this was through personal adornment. Jamaicans were said by men and women to have a strong desire for consumer goods. "Jamaicans dem love nice tings, dey will have the one money and go take it go buy the dearest of shoes or the dearest a car or dearest a house, that is a Jamaican". High-priced items were always the most desirable. 'Name' branded sports clothing and the latest fashions were most common. Even persons with little money were expected to wear some of the latest clothing.

Men also wanted to 'show off' in the way that they purchased clothes. I once bought a skirt from the market. I took a friend of mine with me to show me around. I had an idea of the kind of skirt I wanted and so went from stall to stall checking to see what was available. Most of them were the same kind of style, so I visited a number of places comparing the prices, trying to get the cheapest item in what I wanted (they were priced between £10-15). After a short while, my friend got increasingly agitated and didn't want to look around any more stalls. He asked me how much money I had on me and told me just to buy at the place we were at. He said that when he went out to buy a pair of boots, he would go out with J\$7,000 (£120) and straight away just say to the person behind the stall to show him the best

things. He would spend all the J\$7,000 on one pair there and then. It was not the case that my friend had a lot of money to spend on clothes. He was a fisherman who lived in a small board house with no facilities. But he wanted to show to others that he could buy expensive clothes. Expensive consumer goods were bought by wealthy people. They were distinct and valued because they were bought by people who had money and therefore also stood in opposition to goods which were cheap. Goods which were cheap, anyone could buy, even worthless people were able to buy a cheap pair of shoes if they were lucky with some work. Thus it was the opposition of the expensive goods to the cheap, like high fashion to fashion, that produced the value in expensive things and the desire in people to buy them (Bourdieu 1999 [1979]: 250).

Wearing expensive things symbolised to women and other men that they had money, and thus status, showing themselves to be independent. Masculinity could be shown in many ways, but always through two means - physical strength and monetary strength. Men professed their physical strength by telling stories of their sexual stamina, or the largest fish they ever caught, or the fights and 'wars' they had been in. But importantly, like canoe fishermen in Brazil, masculinity was clearly related to economic performance, and a high standard of living was an important sign of this (Robben 1989: 220). Monetary strength in Whitehouse was shown in supporting their friends (see below), helping others in the community, having many girlfriends (see Chapter Four), employing and using others to do undesirable work, and through the display of consumer goods.

Wearing new clothes was also important to women, however, and there was an element of competition between women's dress and style, as there was for men (cf. Miller 1994: 223). For women, the desire to continuously show off new clothing was also to signify the establishment of a sexual relationship, as men bought clothes for women (ibid.: 223, see Chapter Four). In a way, the display of new clothes was also a display of women's ability to use their sexuality, as women would sometimes profess to being able to 'catch' men through control of the body. If she was able to buy new clothes often, this signified that she had a man providing these things.

However, there were limits to what could be displayed. The car was symbolic of people with money - the middle and upper classes, and anyone who owned one became associated with 'having money'.²⁴ Middle and upper-class men and women owned cars and were resented in communities such as Whitehouse for it. As those in working class communities began to own cars, they too became associated with the upper classes and were also resented. Anyone who owned a car was considered boastful. Owners did not have to do anything special with their car, they did not, for example, need to wash it carefully in full view of the community or have a certain model or design, although a general level of being 'pretty' was preferred. Owners did personalise their cars on the inside however, by placing photographs above the windscreen or small toys dangling from the rear view mirror. But the simple ownership of the car was enough to show off.

Men, however, loved to drive through the beach area past the bars and public areas where people would sit and talk. Some would have their music playing loudly, others would beep their horn as they arrived or call out to people as they were getting out of their car, drawing attention to themselves. The display of money was vital for men in attracting women, and the car was symbolic of their freedom in buying such items, and the money at their disposal. In fact, for men, the car provided "an ideal objectification of individualism and mobility...[and] the sense of freedom which is associated with the lifestyle of African males, in particular the supposed more active sexuality of the latter and their lack of familial constraints" (Miller 1994: 244). If a man had a car he was *man-a-man*.

The acquisition of consumer goods was a sign of being a 'big man' and in fact young men were often said to go on like they were a big man. In order to show that they had money to spend though, men would also need to spend it on others. This was most commonly done through buying drinks. Dale would always do this when he came into money. On one occasion there was a party on a beach nearby Whitehouse. Dale said he was going and asked me if I wanted to go with him. It was just a small distance down the road from Whitehouse and we walked there in

²⁴ This excluded taxi drivers. Using a car as a taxi was not prestigious although more respect was given to those who owned taxis and employed others to run them, as opposed to those who drove the car without ownership.

about ten minutes. As soon as we got there, Dale was looking out for the people he knew and was offering to buy them drinks. After we had a quick walk around and had seen a number of people and bought them all drinks, he decided he wanted to go back to Whitehouse. We walked back and saw some other men that he knew, and he bought them drinks. After the drinks had been distributed and we had been there for about five minutes, it was time to go back to the party. Then the same thing happened again. Dale was constantly on the move looking out for people he knew and buying them drinks. This behaviour was deliberately public. He did not surreptitiously distribute the drinks but commanded attention, showing to all in the vicinity that he had money to buy other people drinks and to demonstrate an extensive network of friends.

Money and social mobility

Any man who had a lot of money would consistently buy other people drinks when he was in public. Dale was one such person, as were a few others. However, there were also a number of men who had little money but would do this intermittently. Flyback was an older fisherman who went fishing maybe once a week. He used to be a dedicated fisherman but as he got older he became less enthusiastic and would spend less time at sea and more time hanging around the fishing beach. His family in the country used to send him money now and again to help him. When he received this money he would immediately buy some rum for himself and then start buying drinks for other people. He would spend all his money in just a few hours.

Such displays of spending money seemed baffling to me though. Flyback would spend all of his money and would then be in the same position he had been beforehand until the next instalment arrived. Many other men, especially older men with fewer responsibilities to 'mind' children, would also spend their money in just a day or two. This was common with fishermen who, once they had sold their fish, would spend their earnings and then end up living off others until they were able to go fishing again. This behaviour was also similar to that of worthless

people who would always spend their money quickly. Due to the irregularity of the receipt of money, I presumed that it would be these individuals in particular who would actually ration the amount of money they were spending. Yet the opposite actually occurred.

The aim of spending money in this way for Flyback and other men was not so much the display of having some money to spend, but the fact that they were free to spend it and able to choose how to spend it. As personal autonomy was desired, Flyback was able to show his autonomy in being carefree in spending all of his money. His social status and position in displaying self-ownership was low. He could not therefore exercise control over others through spending money, but he was able to display a degree of independence and freedom.

By spending all his money and going back to having nothing, he had nothing to lose. Flyback did not have any financial responsibilities towards others. His children were grown up and his siblings had more money than he, thus they did not expect to receive anything. Such 'spendthrift' behaviour has also been reported amongst Japanese day labourers (Gill 1999: 126-131). By living in the present and spending money without thought for the future, day labourers contrasted themselves to the "salary-man" - the stereotypical worker who commutes long distances to a boring job where he has to, begrudgingly, display loyalty and flattery to the boss and company. The day labourer, on the other hand, is free and autonomous and is able to enter relationships and spend money out of choice rather than obligation (ibid.: 129). Flyback and others showed their freedom in comparison to men with obligations such as those who had to worry about supporting their girlfriends or baby mothers so that they would remain faithful (see Chapter Four), and to the rich man who was not able to fully enjoy his riches as he lived in fear of being robbed.

Although buying drinks was characteristic behaviour of those with money, Flyback did not achieve a change in rank. Others saw him as "showing off" or "boasting". This was a way of refusing him a permanent, higher rank. Miller (1994: 271) argues that in Trinidad, it is a transient perspective that refutes a permanent high or low status, and in fact, it is only in transcendence, where there is storage of

wealth and possessions, that deference is really found. For Flyback, 'living in the present' or in Miller's terms the 'transient perspective', meant spending all of his money and therefore his rank was not permanently changed.

Most rich people were considered to have got their money quickly and easily. It was thought that within the upper classes, money was inherited through family and through the help of other rich people. For example, if one person had a business, he would employ his friend to help him remain rich. The rich were also considered lucky. They were lucky in being born into a wealthy family, and in having wealthy friends (although this was not the case for the more wealthy within Whitehouse). By attributing other's wealth to luck, people without money were able to pursue wealth, but if they did not achieve the desired state, they were still able to ascribe some status to themselves. Wealthy people were simply lucky in what they had acquired, it was not, an attribute of their person. This meant also that anyone could become rich one day, if they could receive some good luck.

Education also played a part in mobility. The middle and upper classes were considered to be successful through gaining a good education as well as through their social contacts.²⁵ Again, luck was an element in this, as children who were able to go to good schools were considered lucky that their parents could afford it. Everyone in Whitehouse wanted their own children to do well in school in the hope that they could obtain a well-paid job.²⁶ Although there were a few individuals who had gained an education and moved to Kingston and the formal business sector, the majority of those who remained in Whitehouse had little education, with a number not being able to read or write.

Finding money sometimes meant seeking a loan. Individuals did not apply for loans through the bank as procedures were long and complicated. Individuals needed proof of the ability to repay and references from people with social

²⁵ As Austin (1984) points out, being educated did not just imply a level of knowledge and qualification but also being socialised with appropriate good manners and respectable behaviour. Thus educated individuals gained the social skills to mix with respectable people and make contacts in the hope of gaining good employment too.

²⁶ Education is seen as an opportunity for poor people to gain a chance at being upwardly mobile, and in the early 1970s recent changes in the education system looked promising for the lower classes, as high schools were to award more scholarships to lower class children (Foner 1972). By the time of my fieldwork, however, the cost of sending children to school had increased and families were still unable to send children even to primary school, even though it was compulsory.

standing, such as a local councillor or Justice of the Peace. Few people, however, had the necessary contacts and requirements. Loans were more commonly requested from individuals with money within Whitehouse or other personal contacts. On one occasion, an older fisherman lent a young woman J\$20,000 (£330) to build a new shop, and smaller loans were sometimes given to buy fishing wire to make fish traps. In order to obtain a personal loan, an individual still needed to have good character, as loans would not be given if it was perceived that the borrower would be likely to squander what they had received. This made it especially difficult for young men to obtain money through loans, as they were likely to show off their money by spending it on consumer goods rather than investing it.

It was only luck or illegal means that offered opportunities to be really successful and rise above the poor levels of living in Whitehouse. Edna was lucky in working for Butch Stewart. Fishermen were lucky when they caught an extraordinary catch, and the opportunity of migration also contained luck. Immigration laws were becoming so strict, and procedures to obtain a visa so difficult, that personal contacts abroad were needed. Yet contacts through family and friends did not automatically secure a visa and individuals were considered lucky if they actually made it abroad. On occasion women travelled abroad to continue working as domestic servants for employers who migrated. Men also had opportunities through 'farm work' in the USA and Canada where men were able to obtain seasonal work for a one to six month period. Anyone could apply as long as they were reasonably healthy, but it was luck that determined whose names were randomly drawn by the organisation. Men were less keen to do such work at the time of my stay, however, and preferred to look for contacts and networks as a way in to the USA, and more lucrative ways of making money.

As the nature of luck meant that being lucky was unpredictable, men and women sometimes looked towards the drugs trade and crime. Yet there lay an inherent danger in getting money quickly and easily. Men were often unable to control their money, they would want to show it off and show to other people that

they had become rich. As they got their money easily the first time, they presumed that it would come easily again. As one friend remarked,

You have some people, where they do all kinds of things. You see, that person, he gets his money fast, he gets it dishonestly, maybe he goes out and sees a man working for his money and he will just attack him and take it. Or he sells a lot of drugs and gets billions of dollars. You have some kind of men now, who will go into a rich man's place, break in and take out a million dollars, and when he's out of there, he shares it with his friends. And you have some other kinds of people who might go and buy a car and run a taxi business or start to build a house [with his new money], but others just say, well a rich person's house I just broke into, and he spends all of his money. You have some people who work in a bank, and they have the opportunity to steal a little money, and he spends all of it in the same way. But when they are in trouble they don't have any left. See, when they get their money quickly, they spend it quickly, because they think they will get it back quickly the same way. But the opportunity only came once, that's why some of them are crazy, and you see them walking down the street picking up rubbish. For they get a million dollars one way, and they say, boy I don't know how I got this money here, but I got it easily, so I will get it back again. So they just spend it all. And you see, once they have spent it all, it takes them their lifetime to get such money back.

The acquisition of money through fast and easy means, coincides with the view that "money is out there", you just need to find it. As there are many rich people in Jamaica, the logic follows that there must be a lot of money "about". Access to this money is available either through the same practices as the rich, such as establishing the same business, (see Chapter Two) or through the people themselves. In the example above, there is the opportunity to join the drugs trade or steal from the bank or the rich person. Success always contains an element of luck however, as this is what really determines who is able to find money and who is not. As stated above, this means that for those who are without such luck, status can still be obtained through being active and furthering oneself to the best of one's ability.

The belief that money is out there is combined with 'living in the present', or having a 'transient perspective' (Miller 1994) and with the acquisition of status and power through spending money. This combination encourages the fast distribution and consumption of money, without thought for the future, as money is presumed to 'come again' quickly. Yet without control over spending money, individuals often 'fell back down' as quickly as they 'went up'.

Permanent status could only be achieved through the simultaneous conservation of money and spending. Rich people had everything to lose if they did not control how they spent their money. But therein lay an incredible irony. The rich were expected to display their wealth through consumer buying and the redistribution of money. Men, especially, needed to exhibit wealth through spending to acquire status and be *man-a-man*. Yet the rich needed to control their spending on consumer goods, women, and on substances such as alcohol and drugs which were all considered dangerous as they could bring about a lack of self-control. A lack of self-control could mean the loss of wealth and thus position.

One very clear example of these perceptions were the stories told about Johnny Cool. Johnny was one of the first men to be in the drug trade in Montego Bay and was extremely successful. He was said to take the plane to America as others would take a taxi downtown - with ease and sometimes more than once a day. With the money he earned he had bought a Harley Davidson motorbike. He had cars, he had everything. But then he got 'busted' and the money was no longer 'coming in'. He then started taking drugs himself, spending his money and selling his possessions in order to support his addiction. Eventually, he had become one of the worthless people, washing cars, cleaning fish and walking up and down Whitehouse looking for the odd job to do and begging money and food off people. Other stories were told of individuals who were lucky in finding drugs at sea whilst fishing. They made a fortune, only to end up spending their money on women and living a lifestyle beyond their means, until their money ran out and they were left with nothing.

Those who were able to become rich needed to be careful not to end up back where they started from. This required not just a control of spending money but also guarding oneself against others who would "try and pull you down". Everyone in Whitehouse complained about the others in Whitehouse. People were described as "no good", "jealous", and "bad minded". No one liked to see others doing well. As others acquired money, they had the chance to retain a permanent position of power if they retained their wealth.

Therefore, being wealthy was also a problematic position to be in. Although money was a vehicle to displaying self-ownership, having too much money could actually place an individual in a position whereby other persons, in order to display their own creativity and activity, would attempt to trick them into giving money away. The ideology of being free to spend large amounts of money once one was rich was therefore limited in practice.

Gambling and friendship

Gambling was one attempt at limiting the wealth of others and displaying skill in obtaining money. In Jamaica dominoes was the most popular game played for money, and some men were highly skilled and could win as much as J\$5000 (£100) in a big game. In Whitehouse games were rarely played for such large amounts, but most winners took around J\$200-500 a game. The game was always taken seriously, especially when men of equal skill played. The fishing beach in town was a common site for gambling, especially at night as men came from downtown with 'money in their pockets'. In Whitehouse games were also played in the evenings while men were out drinking and socialising. Friends would sometimes play for fun but would more commonly pair up to play other men from Whitehouse or those who had come to drink in the area.

The game was extremely fast moving. Players could play a number of rounds, each one beginning with the deposit of money. Sometimes winners would take their winnings at the end of each round, and at other times after a few rounds, but money would always change hands quickly. As money was always placed at the beginning of each game this did not allow debts to accumulate. If a man did not have any money on him he could not play. This meant that money was always won or lost there and then, so winners did not have to try and chase up owed money that losers might resist paying. Each game was also played with speed and if a player was good enough he could tell who had won before all the dominoes were placed down. He would declare this and others would have to quickly work it out before the next game was started. Disputes often arose. Men also loved to slam

down their pieces on the board or table as they played each move, emphasising their skill and masculinity. The whole process was quite confusing to the ignorant observer, and I was often unaware who was winning, aside from the shouts of victory. The presence of money at the game and the speed at which it was played allowed gambling to be a way of making money quickly (cf. Mitchell 1988: 648; Papataxiarchis 1999: 158).

The aim of the game was to take your opponent's money and it was this mission that caused opposition to gambling from some people. Although the game involved much skill, gambling was an overt way of accessing other people's money and thus compared to pimping and stealing. Men could sit with thousands of dollars in their pocket but still desire to take money off other men. This attitude was met with disdain, especially from women, as men would often lose part or all of their days wages which should have been taken home to feed their family. As women disapproved of their boyfriends' gambling, the game also became a mark of resistance to their attempted control. Dominoes was always played in public space, where men competed for *man-a-man* and played out their autonomy, and where women could not linger without losing their reputation (see Chapter Four). Men would defy their girlfriend's attempted control and compete in the public realm to take other men's money even though they could often lose money themselves. They maintained a disregard for their women's thought for the home and future, and took a risk to compete with other men. Similar opposition to gambling is met by women in Greece but here men often lessen their gambling if they are married (Papataxiarchis 1999: 166). In Whitehouse, men's continued participation in the game despite women's disapproval, displayed to other men that they would not let their women influence their choice in dealing with money.

Gambling was politically motivated. It was not played just as a way to make quick money (although this was a significant motivation) and I never heard of anyone who invested their gambling winnings in something else and becoming economically successful.²⁷ Therefore, gambling was not perceived as a means to becoming rich. Instead, it was a way of taking other people's money and keeping

²⁷ See Maclean (1984) for a comparison as to how gambling can be used to set up businesses in Papua New Guinea.

one's own. Taking money from others was a transaction that limited the power that others could have over them. It was both a material and symbolic²⁸ resistance to power through the extraction of money, and an act of personal autonomy.

Another way that "bad mindedness" was displayed was through "friending people up" - acting as if you were good friends with someone, or being particularly friendly in order to procure money or other goods. Women would befriend men, flirting with them and leading them towards the possibility of a sexual interaction in order to receive money (see Chapter Four). Women would also make friends with other women as would men with men. Women however, did not freely spend money on their friends as money was spent primarily on the family and relatives that they needed to support. Men on the other hand, needed to show off their spending on other men in order to show their masculinity; giving money to friends was a priority. Thus when a man was known to "come into" money, through a good catch of fish, for example, he would suddenly have a lot of 'friends'.

Sharing money with friends was paramount for men. In fact, the saying "best friend better than pocket money" was firmly adhered to. In other words, a real friend could always be relied upon for help, especially financial support. What made a true friendship or "article bredren" for men, was the sharing of money and goods. Due to the sporadic nature of work for men, there were times when they had money to spend, and times when they had none. At times when money was "not coming in", friends who had money would support those who did not. Men would ask each other for small amounts of money to buy necessities (around J\$100) or even for small loans (around J\$1000).

The most common way to share money was through buying alcohol. Good friends would meet a number of times a week and drink together, normally in a local bar. Men mainly drank either rum or beer. Rum was served in small bottles (500ml) by the cue (full) or half cue (half full) and was shared equally among everyone. Dark rum had the slight reputation of being a tourist drink, and white rum was very strong and could not be drunk throughout a whole evening. Young men mainly drank bottles of beer, either Red Stripe, Heineken or Guinness.

²⁸ Symbolic as the amount of money taken off others was generally small.

Whoever had the most money would buy the most drinks. If all had money, all would buy, if it was known some were unable to, then they would buy at another time. This practice supports the perception of how those with (surplus) money should give to those in need, which I described above.

Individuals took turns in buying drinks, within one evening or across a number of days. Whilst one person was lacking in finances to buy, there was no expectation of a return. As in many hunter-gatherer societies, the sharing of food is given without any sense of indebtedness (Woodburn 1982: 434, Gibson 1988: 172). The relationship real friends maintained was also without indebtedness. Individuals were expected to support their friend by buying drinks for as long as was necessary. If one individual was not in a position to return the support, then the other(s) would continue to provide for as long as was necessary. Friends were not expected to go out and make more money in order to repay the gifts received. Rather, when their time of abundance came, then they would also be obligated to share.

Pete and Charlie were good friends. Pete had a moderate but steady income whereas Charlie was a fisherman. Charlie was also very old and hardly went to sea, once a month perhaps. He earned some money to buy drinks (his family looked after his other needs). Pete and Charlie would normally drink white rum together everyday. They would meet at lunchtime and in the evening and everyday, twice a day, Pete would buy the drinks. On a rare occasion Charlie would have some money and in return would buy. Often Pete would make sarcastic jokes about whether Charlie would actually buy this time, and I often felt some sympathy towards Pete as he constantly spent his money on Charlie. One day Charlie and Pete had a disagreement and Charlie told me that he would not be drinking with Pete anymore because he was 'mean'. I was shocked. How could Charlie say Pete was mean? Surely it should have been the other way round. Charlie explained that both Pete and Charlie knew that Pete had more money than Charlie. And since they were such good friends it was only right and fair that Pete should buy the drinks. The matter that offended Charlie was Pete's comments and sarcastic jibes. These made Charlie look shameful. Pete was portraying Charlie as a dependent,

someone in need and without self-control. Charlie, however, considered himself to be an old and respected man, with a big and successful family. He had worked hard all his life and in his frailty still went fishing sometimes. Charlie was not short of money to buy drinks because he was lazy or worthless. In fact Charlie would often tell me how his family had money, and how he had plenty of money in the bank, reasserting to himself as much as to me that he was in no sense owned by, or dependent upon, anyone else. Charlie had everything he wanted in life and his family looked after him well. On the other hand, Pete had money to spend. There should not have been any resentment by Pete. Making a fuss when your friend asks you to buy a drink shows that you do not respect him as a real friend, and are implying that he is just begging (see Chapter Five). A man that respects his friend recognises when the latter is in need and automatically provides for him when he has money.

Within male friendship groups (crews) men were equal (cf. Wilson 1973: 181-2). Relationships were based on a real care for your friend that was to be a haven from the constant competitive life in Whitehouse and Montego Bay and were common to all men except worthless men who had no economic means to share. As all friends were expected to share in times of abundance, this did not allow anyone to create ties of power and dependency (cf. Barnard and Woodburn 1988: 17). As there was no hierarchy or indebtedness between friends, relationships could be linked through economic sharing and still maintain personal autonomy - no one was in a position to tell others what to do. In Greece, friendships that stress equality are known as "friends of the heart" and embody values that stand in opposition to indebtedness and self interest and embrace sentiments of sharing, culminating in the sharing of the heart (Papataxiarchis 1991: 160, 170). In Whitehouse, men would express their equality by giving freely in times of abundance, showing that they were not withholding money from their friends. By not giving, individuals would be perceived to be tricking friends out of their money, looking to gain autonomy at the expense of others.

Men would drink together, discuss their lives and the state of Jamaica. They would laugh and tell jokes. Men would sometimes buy food to share while they

were drinking or if they were young and single would arrange to cook together. Men who were 'bredren' would eat out of the same pot, signifying equality. Cooking food would be possible through everyone contributing something to make a good meal, either money or food, showing a genuine desire to be sharing. Individuals were happy to be eating with each other out of the same pot; no one looked down on anyone else. In fact, when a friendship became unequal or uncaring then food was no longer eaten out of the same pot.

Male friendships would often break down through one person substantially advancing economically. Men could be the best of friends, drink together, eat together, look for women together, fish together, do everything together but if one was to become more economically successful than the other, there was a potential for conflict and separation. As a man became more wealthy, this created an opportunity for him to exert control over his friend. He could begin to perceive himself as powerful now that he had money - "no one could tell him what to do". As he had more money he could "start going on like he was someone" and start treating his friend with less respect and begin to use him like a worthless person. If the man was to receive a windfall then he would no longer want to share all his money with his friends as he would rather display it through goods and women. Men would not tolerate such behaviour, however, as this stood in opposition to all the values of being 'bredren'. The friendship would not continue.

Cap and Garey were "article bredren". They would always be eating and drinking together and helping each other with things they needed. Then Cap got lucky and came into a lot of money. Suddenly Cap became boastful and started ordering Garey around, telling him to do jobs such as clean his yard. Garey wanted to buy Cap's old car but only had enough money for a partial payment, he asked if Cap could 'trust' him the rest until he was able to pay but Cap said no. This showed Garey that Cap no longer wanted to help him, and implied that he did not trust him with regard to the loan. Their friendship broke down shortly afterwards. As Cap "had money" he had started to consider himself better than Garey, as was shown through his bossing him around. Cap no longer required Garey's company and Garey would not stand for Cap's lack of respect.

As men were obligated to share with their friends so willingly, it was not uncommon to find men who would try and befriend individuals in order to have access to their money. They would socialise with someone for maybe a week or a few weeks, chatting and debating in the bars or on the beach. They would come up to individuals looking pleased to see them, call them friend, and ask for drinks. Mice was a young man from a nearby community who socialised in Whitehouse. He was at first friendly with a group of men who helped him for a while. But after some time, he was continuing to take from them without repaying any of their generosity, and arguments started to occur about his motives. Soon afterwards, he became friendly with a different group of men further up the road. They were suspicious of him, however, and once when he asked me for money they signified to me, without him seeing, that I should not bother. Many people warned me about those kind of people, although nearly everyone in Whitehouse was described by other Whitehouse residents as being like this.

Another way to 'bring people down' is through *obeah*. *Obeah* is a kind of witchcraft, which amongst other things, enables people to bring misfortune to others. Individuals visit an *obeah* practitioner who, for a fee, will normally conduct some action themselves or give the customer a liquid or food substance to administer to the individual or their belongings they wish to affect. Alvin, the most successful fisherman, was said to conduct a lot of *obeah*. On one occasion he had fallen out with his son after the son wasted all his money on women, leaving Alvin and the rest of his family to support his two children. Alvin was angry at his behaviour and according to other Whitehouse residents, went to an *obeah* man to try and kill him. The son was supposed to go fishing the next day with a friend but at the last minute another man went along instead. The *obeah* did not then work to its full effect, and instead of Alvin's son and the other fishermen being killed, they were lost at sea. After three days they were picked up in Cuba, and a short while afterwards, returned to Jamaica. Other fishermen complained that Alvin would administer *obeah* upon them so that their catches failed or were destroyed.

The practice of limiting the extent to which an individual owns resources and has influence over others is commonly found in egalitarian societies, such as

the hunters and gatherers described above. Both gambling and drinking are two common means of limiting the wealth of individuals, which act as 'levelling mechanisms' and are found to occur in various indigenous economies in South America (see Kidd 2000 for examples). Renshaw (1986) discusses the moral view of the economy taken by the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco. He states that the accumulation of possessions is seen as a threat to the egalitarian social order of the Indians. This is displayed through the material uniformity within communities, as houses are almost identical in material and size, and households possess similar decorations and furnishings (*ibid.*: 338-9). The Indians also place an emphasis on sharing and being generous to all those in the community, and sharing is expected from anyone who "happens to have a surplus for redistribution" (*ibid.* 340). For Renshaw, it is the moral value placed on equality that is inextricably linked to a perception of the individual as being an autonomous being that guides economic practice (*ibid.*: 339), and it is this value that orientates the Indians to take up wage labour rather than growing cash crops or rearing livestock. As agricultural work requires the managing of harvests or stocks for the continuation of production from year to year and also resisting pressure from others to give stocks away, Indians are orientated towards wage labour because, once individuals have bought the necessities they need, they can give money away or 'waste' it on unnecessary things. Those who have acquired wealth through agriculture or livestock are placed under pressure to give it all away otherwise they are branded as mean. These individuals are often estranged and isolate themselves from the rest of the community (*ibid.*: 346-9).

There are a number of similarities in this respect between the Chaco Indians and people in Whitehouse. Most striking is the expectation of those who have surplus resources to share them with others in the community. In Whitehouse, those with money should help those with less. They should give them money or food or pay for expenses such as school or medical fees. And, like those who accumulate resources in Chaco, individuals who have wealth that they do not give away are branded as mean. In some cases this also leads to isolating oneself from others. This is the case for Alvin. Alvin was known as the meanest person in

Whitehouse, in contrast to Omar, who although he did not live up to role expectations, did still employ a number of men, and was a patron to others. Alvin, however, rarely used the labour of other people and would never share his money with anyone. He did not have any friends; he never bought other people drinks and was rarely bought any by others. He constantly warned me about the "bad minded" nature of people in Whitehouse who would try and take people's money. In order to guard himself from them, he did not share his resources with anyone who was not in his family.

For the Paraguayan Chaco, it is the moral view of equality between members of the community that emphasises sharing, and limits the desire to accumulate resources for individual gain. In Whitehouse, however, relations are not egalitarian, nor is there an ethos of equality within the community, other than between friends and family. On the contrary, as I have shown, individuals have various and fluctuating degrees of wealth and rank. One family lives in a nicely furnished two storey concrete house whilst another woman lives in a zinc makeshift house similar to the shed that Alvin keeps his fishing equipment in. One individual can afford to pay others to undertake undesirable work, whilst others need that work on a daily basis.

Yet individuals within Whitehouse do try and limit the resources that others have. By limiting the wealth of others, control by others is limited and autonomy gained. Each time someone takes, wins or tricks money from someone else, personal autonomy is asserted. Thus it is the display in being active to manoeuvre, play on and fool others that makes visible one's own self-ownership. Within relationships that are considered equal, that is, between male friends, (see also Chapter One for family relations) individuals do not try and do this. They do in fact, share freely and keep relations with each other based on equality through the continuous sharing of drinks and help. Equality is maintained as those with resources share with others and do not use their position to try and exert control. If control over a friend is attempted, as with Cap and Garey, the relationship breaks down.

To display or not to display

As the display of wealth caused resentment from others and led people to take action against those with more money than themselves, some individuals chose not to show that they "had money". Sometimes this was unavoidable, a fisherman who had caught a surprisingly large marlin, for example, could not hide this when he came back to shore. But others who ran their own businesses, such as stalls or shops or taxis, could secretly do well, yet always complain to others about their lack of money, pretending takings were much worse than they really were. Bagga, who ran a small food stall in town in the mornings, was very successful but he didn't boast about how well he was doing. Although he could afford to live elsewhere, he spent most of his time sleeping in his small locker room at the fishing beach. He never 'showed off' by buying people drinks, in fact, whenever he took money out of his pocket, he would be careful not to show his earnings for the day, as others around would be watching carefully to see if his hands were full of dollar bills.

No one really knew how much money rich people had, and many poor people were presumed to have more money than they were showing. The extent of hiding one's money might be drastic, as one fisherman stated that if he was to win a billion dollars in the lottery he would walk around barefoot the same way.

On the other hand, those who had very little would try and show that they had more than what they really owned. Commonly for men, this would be through wearing gold jewellery. Fake gold necklaces, bracelets, rings and watches were worn by men who had very little money, but wanted to show others that they were powerful in some way. Men would wear such items as they walked publicly downtown where fewer people knew them, and would not know their actual economic circumstances. Alvin's son sometimes did this. When he had his fortune he bought a lot of jewellery. He had since sold most of it but there were some gold rings remaining. Every now and again he would wear the rings to show he had money, even though he had virtually nothing. Other men would boast about their money and their ability to give it away. A man came passing through the fishing

beach one day. He did not come to Whitehouse regularly and few people knew him. As he walked past, he was generally talking to everybody and nobody about how generous he was. He said that whenever people came to him for food, he would always give to them, if he could. This man did not look as if he had much money, and indeed he could have been pretending that he didn't have much, but then he would not have boasted about how good he was at giving food away. In fact, the few that knew him, also knew that he was poor and the reality was that he could not have given food away as much as he reported. He simply wanted to boast to others that did not know him, that he was a great man and very generous.

This, seemingly contradictory, behaviour of hiding wealth, and the simultaneous display of generosity by the poor, shows that material ownership does not, in itself, constitute personhood. Although money in abundance is idealised as a powerful force to make a powerful person, in Whitehouse, being strategic in social and economic practice is of even greater value. All individuals are able to be strategic and active in asserting self-control, and thus to be people of worth. Therefore, it is not possessing money, as such, that defines a person, but their creativity and skill in pursuing and dealing with money. By maintaining these values, all members of the community regardless of absolute wealth or poverty display personhood and acquire rank.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that social rank matters within Whitehouse. These ranks are the outcome of both the amount of money an individual is thought to have and the degree of self-control and skill an individual has in obtaining and securing wealth. The values placed on autonomy and self-ownership govern how rank is conferred within the community, and how individuals are able to combine this with their degree of wealth, in order to keep the respect attributed to people of such economic station. Thus the 'rich' must be generous in helping those in need, but also be controlled in the distribution of their money. Balancing relationships in this way displays continuous self-ownership. The poor, whilst not being in the

same economic position of the rich, also have an opportunity to gain respect and rank as they display a degree of autonomy, through, for example, saving money in partner schemes, or buying expensive consumer items. Worthless people were the epitome of those without self-control. Addicted to drugs or alcohol, worthless people did not even try to win respect and were clearly dependent on others to meet their most basic needs.

The amount of money a person owned was not, in itself, determining of autonomy, and therefore pursuing money was equally valuable to actually having gained financially. Gambling, for example, or even presenting oneself as generous, were ways to display oneself as active, and therefore eligible for moral value. This activity and creativity is also displayed in cross-gender relationships, and it is to this context that I shall turn in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Cross-gender relationships and enterprise

This chapter discusses the relationships that are found between men and women in Whitehouse. I analyse how material items and money are used in these relationships and how they are necessary to create and develop sexual unions. I start by looking at image and dress in attracting members of the opposite sex. I then go on to discuss the importance of giving money to women and in relation to this what women give to men. I also look at marriage and the sexual and economic relationships that men and women have with white people, mainly tourists. Throughout this chapter I focus on how autonomy is exercised by women and men through being active in exerting their enterprising skills within relationships to each other. By displaying such skills, individuals show that they are in control of their own lives, and thus are their own person. The notion of luck will also be investigated in determining how men and women in Whitehouse conceptualise high status.

As R. T. Smith points out, Caribbean literature has extensively explored the kinship system through its relation to economic organisation. Studies have focused on a 'phenomenon' of the 'absent male' - household studies show that men are frequently missing as fathers. Research has also engaged in the analysis of consensual unions and 'outside' relationships as being determined by poverty and economic organisation (1988: 162). The shortcomings of this account were highlighted, however, when it became apparent that in the middle and upper classes in Jamaica similar patterns of relationships could be found (*ibid.*: 163). Although this chapter clearly identifies the significance of money in sexual relationships and shows how personal relationships are economically constituted, it is not an attempt to explain why they are 'irregular' (for these debates see Barrow 1996; Clarke 1957; Blake 1961; Henriques 1968). Rather, it presents sexual relationships as intertwined with economic practice, function and symbolism. Moreover, it shows how the values surrounding money can build personhood through enterprising activity.

How men gain respect

Young men in communities like Whitehouse were concerned with the image of being tough and in control. The most prominent age group of men in Whitehouse was between 20 and 35. Out of 60 men (above the age of 16) living in bottom Whitehouse, 31 men were between these ages. But it was not just the quantity of young men in the area that made them a highly visible group. This age group of men were especially concerned with gaining respect through image. Wilson (1973), in his ethnography of Providencia, a small island in the Caribbean, discusses the notion of 'reputation' as a value system that governs male behaviour. Within this domain, men are said to construct their reputations and gain respect through various skills. The different skills that men need are 'sweet talking' women, singing, sexual prowess, fighting, arguing and acquiring knowledge (1973: 152-161). He also states that men build their reputations of 'strength' through virility in fathering many children and giving gifts and money to women as a sign of manhood and generosity (ibid.: 150, 152). Although Wilson discusses the different skills that men need in some detail, he does not explore the economic relationship that men have with women (or its relation to sexual relationships). Wilson overlooks the significance of this aspect of cross-gender relations as his analysis of Providencia is set firmly in the separation of the male and female domains. I explore issues of male and female spheres in more detail later in this chapter, now I focus on how men build their reputations.

In Whitehouse, as in Providencia,²⁹ men gained respect in the first instance through sexual relationships with women. In order to augment their reputations, men needed to portray to other men that they 'had'³⁰ plenty of women, had the resources and skill for attracting women and furthermore, that they were in control in their relationships with women. This latter achievement was displayed through being in control of themselves, that is, not being deceived by women, as much as controlling any woman they were associated with.

²⁹ Miller (1994), Yelvington (1995) and Rubenstein (1987) also discuss how Caribbean men gain respect through sexual exploits.

³⁰ 'Having' women encompassed both one nights stands and casual or more long term relationships, but always included a sexual encounter.

Men portrayed this by being seen in public with women, and also through the discourse they used. In order to build up their images and reputations, men spent a considerable amount of time in public view. In Whitehouse this was observed through groups of men drinking in bars, but also simply hanging out in public areas where there was some activity, for example, the fishing beach or the local car wash. I discussed friendships between men in the previous chapter, but in this context it is important to note that young men were prominent in Whitehouse as they were almost constantly in public spaces.

Most of these men in Whitehouse were single and rented rooms in old buildings and other people's houses. Some of the older ones were living with women and had children, others had children but did not live with them or the mother of their child.

Having children was important to men as a sign of their virility and men would commonly have children by more than one woman. Once a child was born, the most important role a man had in relation to his children was to provide for them. A man who had many children and was able to provide for all of them was a good father. Men would also pride themselves on looking after their children.³¹ They talked about how hard they worked in order that their children had shoes to wear and could go to school. But there were also men who did not or could not look after their children. Often these children lived with the mother and the father had little contact with them.

Although men lived with women or had long-term relationships with women, it was common for them to have other girlfriends 'outside'. Anthropologists have analysed the 'phenomenon' of 'outside' relationships in different ways. Focusing on such relationships amongst poor blacks, they have been understood as part of a 'culture of poverty' (Lewis 1966), or through different economic organisation (Clarke 1957). Smith (1987) shows that 'outside' relationships were present in the time of slavery. In his discussion of the 'dual system of marriage', Smith states that white plantation owners, although married to white

³¹ Disobedient behaviour exhibited by children was considered the result of bad parenting. If children had no 'manners' this was a sign that their parents were also lacking in 'proper' respectable behaviour. Such behaviour was also a reflection of social status, as bad manners were considered synonymous with the poorer members of the community and society.

women, would often have non-legal unions with black women. Mixed race women were preferred by white men and these women became predisposed to prefer non-legal relationships with white men to legal relationships with other coloureds, as they enjoyed a degree of freedom from the slavery system, as well as furthering the chances of a good economic future for their children. Many white men who had coloured children passed on some of their property to them (1987: 180). The racial hierarchy that structured society also came to structure kin and marriage relations. Throughout slavery and after its abolition, men of status had non-legal unions with women of a lower status, and even though coloured middle class women began to object to these relationships towards the end of the 19th century, it was still 'passively' accepted. Today, men commonly have 'outside' relationships with women of their own status as well as with lower status women (ibid.: 181-191).

In Whitehouse, outside relationships were primarily for sexual pleasure for the man. They were recognised as a necessary part of a man's masculinity. Men needed to be sexually active and it was unreasonable to assume that he would be satisfied with one woman for a long period of time. Men would pride themselves on having many women. When men were together they would often discuss their sexual experiences and boast about how much women wanted them. Boasting about sexual exploits to other men was an important part of building a strong masculine image in order to gain respect, so young men, especially, told stories of their experiences. Men stated how 'strong' they were in bed or how women were desperate to have them. One man from a nearby community once told how women were always calling out to him in his neighbourhood. When he walked down certain streets there were many women who wanted him to stop by. In a similar way in Trinidad, male factory workers were found to brag about the number of women that were attracted to them at work. In this context, women would display their attraction by flirting with the men (Yelvington 1995: 162-3).

In Whitehouse these experiences were discussed openly with other men, and it did not matter which men were present; old or young, family member or stranger. Women however, did not participate in these discussions. Most women did not frequent public spaces as men did (see below) and men preferred that

women did not hear such discussions in case they later gossiped to others and caused trouble for the man with his girlfriend or 'baby mother'. This is not to say that such conversations were a secret matter of men, of which women were to be excluded at all times. Women passing by would often catch snatches of tales but were repelled rather than attracted to hearing men's self congratulatory stories of sexual prowess. I was able to hear of these stories as I spent time socialising with men and they were used to me being around.

'Looking good'

Dress and image played a very important role in relationships between men and women in Whitehouse and similar areas in and around Montego Bay. This was both in terms of how men and women looked and in the giving of material gifts from boyfriends to girlfriends.

It was very important in Jamaica to "look good" in order to attract members of the opposite sex. Most women in Whitehouse could not afford to buy glossy magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* or *Vogue*, which were available in Montego Bay but were very expensive. Thus magazines were not the way that young women or young men found the latest images to aspire to. These were mainly found through the music industry. The most popular Dancehall and reggae singers set the latest fashions, the latest hair-styles and the latest ways of speaking and moving. These images were seen on the television and through attending concerts and dances. Those living in the cities and especially in the ghetto embodied these images most as the Dancehall scene was not just a kind of music to listen to but a way of defining one's identity. Dancehall singers most often came from the poor areas of the city and sang about life and relationships in the ghetto. Dancehall stars were idolised and their images played a vital role in defining what was right to "look good".

For both men and women, wearing the right clothes is an important part of image. Name branded T-shirts and trainers are always desired. These could be found in most stores in the town and through markets and higglers. Different styles

of wearing clothes are also followed. At the time of my fieldwork, the latest craze for men was to wear their trousers from the hips and to have their boxer shorts visibly sticking out of the top. Sometimes men even wore two sets of shorts with the tops of both showing. Women wore tight leggings or 'batty riders' with T-shirts in the day and more cropped tops at night. But "looking good" didn't just stop there. It was one thing to wear the right clothes, but another to wear them looking dazzlingly clean. All clothes have to look like they have just been washed and even school children have to wear dazzling white shirts everyday. Hand washing all my clothes was a new and difficult experience for me and I was never able to live up to the standards that Jamaicans set. I avoided pale coloured clothes after a while but Jamaicans relished them.

Wearing clean clothes is significant as cleanliness is a sign of looking after oneself, and in turn a sign of social status as it conveys being in control over oneself. Worthless (*wutless*) people wear the same clothes continuously and their hair is knotted and without style. It is noticed when people do not change their clothes. Often people commented on how so and so was 'dirty' as she had been wearing the same top for three days. In order to stay looking good and clean, people often take a shower in the middle of the day and put on different clothes in the afternoon. People shower in the morning and before going to bed, a third time is optional. Wearing clean clothes also shows that women are competent in their duties. Women and teenage girls wash their own clothes unless they can afford to pay somebody else. Men will have their clothes washed by female members of their household. If they live alone then they will have to wash them themselves if they cannot afford to pay a woman. Washing clothes well is a marker for women in their standards of housekeeping; keeping a good house is vital for women as regard their status and respectability.

Cleanliness is one of the most visible markers of social rank in communities like Whitehouse. I discussed in Chapter Three how money is a great indicator of status in Whitehouse but cleanliness was something that clearly distinguished those at the bottom of the hierarchy from the rest. For even though a person may

not be able to afford the latest clothing in order to demonstrate having money, cleanliness was always something that distinguished people from the worthless (*wutless*) people. A person could not control the amount of money they earned or received, but they could always control their personal hygiene. Worthless people were noticeably dirty, they conducted the dirtiest jobs such as cleaning fish and clearing yards and so would rarely wear clean clothes. If they owned shirts or smart trousers (for the men) they would not be seen in them, but for exceptional circumstances such as attending a funeral. Their uncleanliness was exacerbated by their dependency on drugs which people said made them lazy to wash and they no longer cared about how they looked.

It is a woman's appearance that is said to first attract a man and make him want a relationship with her. Thus it is a woman's sexuality that is emphasised in order to attract men. If she looks good in terms of her dress, build, and cleanliness then a man is said to 'get weak' over her. If he is already in a relationship with a woman when he sees another one he likes, then it is considered by men almost impossible to resist her if she is willing, as he is weak over her looks. When a man 'gets weak' over a girl there is little he can do to resist. Paradoxically, although it is a man's weakness in being attracted to women, he needs strength to conduct a sexual relationship well, and even more strength if he has more than one woman whom he regularly sees. Thus men often take drinks or other substances which are said to be able to enhance a man's sexual performance, especially if he does not want a girlfriend to suspect he is not up to scratch because he is involved with other women (cf. Miller 1994: 174-5). Men do not have any desire to control these feelings as their lust for women and the respect that they can gain from peers in having many sexual relationships is something that they are proud of as men.

Men providing for women

It is also vital for a man that his girlfriend looks good at all times, for her appearance will reflect on him. A man's primary role in a relationship with a

woman is to provide for her both financially and sexually, but primarily financially. In terms of dress then, if a woman does not have good clothes to wear or is not able to have her hair styled, then it is visible to others that her man is not looking after her.

Men express the desire that their girlfriends will look so good that when they walk down the street other men will turn and look. Then he can show off that she is his. When a man has been in a relationship with a woman for a short while, just a few weeks, it is expected that he will start buying her gifts and give her enough money to help her look good. If he is not looking after her in this way, the woman is letting him get away with not fulfilling his role in the relationship. One woman said to me once, "if you have a boyfriend then he buy you things. If he doesn't give you things then you are an idiot".

Although it is the man's responsibility to provide for a woman, it is also up to the woman whether to accept the man or not. In a casual relationship, if a woman is having sex with a man, he has to give her money otherwise the relationship will not continue. As a relationship starts, the man has to show that he is willing and able to give her money or else she will not be interested in carrying on the relationship, especially if she has children.

Merl was a woman who lived by herself in a small shack in Whitehouse. The man she was living with was very ill when I arrived in Whitehouse and died while I was there. Merl had some mental health problems and was not able to do much paid work. This meant that she survived purely off the money men gave her and the odd fish that she was able to beg from time to time. Merl had a man who came to see her a few times a week but was not giving her much money. In fact with the money he gave her he also expected her to buy him drinks and cigarettes while he was there, and so she was hardly receiving enough to buy her own food. When other people heard about how he was treating her, they immediately told her to get rid of him.

As men are having sex with women, it is considered only right and fair to give women money and other goods. It is this fact that enables women to have control in their relationships with men. One woman said to me, "as long as you is a

woman, you can't dead". In other words, as long as you were able to offer yourself for sex you would always be able to find men who would give you money. Ultimately, this scenario could lead to prostitution but this statement was not directed at that. As men are always looking to have sex with women, then women are able to use this 'weakness' of men to empower their own positions in relationships with men. If men didn't give them the material things they needed, then they would get rid of them and find somebody else who would.

Therefore relationships with men and the economic role they provided, were not perceived by women simply as a means of surviving through lack of choice and dependency. Whilst some women relied upon men to a greater extent if they were not working, this did not detract from women's independence. Relationships with men were another avenue for acquiring money and also to exert self-control. A woman could manoeuvre in and out of relationships and invest in herself and her appearance in order to attract a man suitable for her, sometimes renewing her image to find a new man of greater economic worth. It is this choice and action that women enjoyed that meant if a woman had a boyfriend who wasn't giving her things, then *she* was considered an idiot. She should know that he ought to be providing for her. If she was to let him sleep with her without receiving anything in return then that was her fault.

In practice though, although a woman has a choice in getting rid of a man who does not provide, she will not simply pick up another man the next day since it is not easy to find a man whose economic resources are not already stretched. If a woman has no means of making an income herself, and has children to feed and send to school, she will often have to survive with the little she receives from her present man until she is able to find a better means of support.

Men are expected to be providers throughout a relationship with a woman. As a couple move from having a casual relationship to one where they live together or have children together, it is the man's responsibility to provide a house for them to live in and money for them to live off. In areas like Whitehouse, most young men find houses or rooms to rent as they cannot afford to build their own place. Some, however, claim pieces of land and build a board house and squat there. A lot of

couples will start off their home with very few things, mainly a bed and a cooker. As time goes by, it is expected that they will acquire such things as a fridge, table and chairs, a dresser and ornaments and a television. Some might have received these through their families and others will buy them at one of the large furniture stores on credit.

In many ways, the material items that a man provides for the house reflect the relationship they have, and certainly the way women feel about it. For example, Natalie, a woman in her twenties, in talking about her past relationships told me how her 'baby father' was mean. At the end of the relationship all she got out of it was a bed and a fridge and she felt that she should have got more. One young man was thinking of splitting up with his 'baby mother' but felt unable to at the time because he hadn't even bought a fridge for her yet and he didn't want to leave her with nothing.

When men have children they are also constrained by law to provide for those children. Women are able and do take men to court if they are not looking after their children. In one such case I knew of, the man was ordered to give the house they had been living in to her, he then had to build a house for himself somewhere else. But the courts can also be a long and tedious avenue in order to get economic support from men, so many women do not use that route. If women find themselves with children and do not have money through any other means, they may try to get pregnant by another man who will support them. It is also the case that women tell some men they are having their child in order to get the economic support whereas the child is actually somebody else's. Men said that you can tell when women try to do this as they come to you desperate to have you. They are already pregnant but they want to "put it on you".

If a woman is living with a man and they have children but he is not looking after her or them, it is expected that she will start to have outside relationships (he will get *bun*, burnt). It is neither socially acceptable nor condoned that women have relationships with outside men but it was a fairly common occurrence in Whitehouse none the less. Everyone accepts that if a man is looking after his woman financially and sexually she has no need to go with other men and so won't.

Occasionally women may 'get weak' over a man, as she just likes the way he looks and moves, but this is not the primary reason women have outside relationships. Therefore, if a woman is to have a relationship with another man it is presumed that her man at home is not looking after her properly, and this reflects badly on him and his reputation. As men are protective of their reputations they can often try and control their girlfriends so that they do not take other men. Some men will not let their girlfriends work as this increases the chances of her meeting other men with money. Some will limit the amount of time she spends with her female friends.

From these examples, it is clear that men desire to be in control of the relationships they have with women. Control over the woman's behaviour and how she looks. She should look her best in order for her appearance to reflect well on him. In her behaviour, most importantly she needs to be faithful and have no outside relationships. For this to happen, her man is expected to provide for her in two ways, financially and sexually. As I have shown in Chapter Two, men move in and out of work and earning opportunities regularly and so do not always have a regular income. Women are expected to understand this, and to persevere through the times when "the money is not coming in". In fact, if a man goes through a prolonged period where he is not earning money, then he needs to exert further control over his woman's behaviour and desires so that she does not "disrespect him" and spoil his reputation by turning to another man.

When a man enters into a relationship with a woman, he begins by displaying his own self-control and masculinity. He looks good and clean in order to attract women, and will brag of his abilities in looking after women. The relationship is then also sustained through his ability to control his woman. He must give her money in order that she does not turn to other men. As part of his masculinity, he must also be making her sexually satisfied, again so that she does not look elsewhere, but this role is secondary to his financial one. As I will also show below, he also has authority through making economic decisions.

Public and domestic spheres

A woman's role in a sexual relationship and a family is primarily defined by her duties to the household, particularly once children are present. This is not to say that women are not prominent in the working world (cf. Berleant-Schiller and Maurer 1993: 66), but a woman's primary role is considered to be in the home. Thus she should not undertake any work that is going to jeopardise her keeping a 'good' home. Her primary duties in keeping a 'good home' are washing clothes, cooking, cleaning the inside of the home, including polishing wooden floors and keeping any veranda or porch clean and tidy. She is the primary carer of children by cooking for them, washing their clothes and spending time with them. If she has children and is also working, she needs to make sure that they are well looked after by another member of the household, another relative or more rarely, a friend. In this situation, it is often her own mother that will look after the children, even if this means they have to live in the grandmother's house if she is in a separate household. Under no circumstances are her domestic duties to be neglected. Her home should always be clean and ready for when a man is around, whether he is there permanently or whether he comes and goes. She will need to have food ready and clothes washed for any expected male visitor. Looking after the home and children, conducting appropriate behaviour, such as minding one's own business in the confinement of the yard, and looking to satisfy a partner's needs are all elements of what Wilson (1973) discusses as building a woman's respectability.

Although the woman's domain is firmly located in the maintenance of the household, it is necessary to understand the boundaries and processes of this domestic sphere to fully understand the relationship between men and women in Whitehouse. Following Yanagisako's (1987) analysis explicating 'native' metaphors in analysing the areas of life categorised by anthropology as the 'domestic' and 'public' spheres (see Rosaldo 1980) and 'domestic' and 'politico-jural' domains (see Fortes 1958, 1969), it is necessary to unpick the normative processes of such spheres in order to understand gender and kinship relations. Historically, women in Jamaica have conducted the domestic duties of the household, and yet simultaneously, since slavery and post-slavery days, conducted economic activities outside the realm of the house, for example in paid domestic service, higglering,

small farming, and running small lodgings (see, for example, Smith 1987; Kerr 1995; Matos-Rodriguez 1995). Thus the woman's domain has never simply been equated with the 'domestic' sphere.

Reiter describes the process in which public and private spheres are developed as a society moves from kin-based organisation, where economy, polity and religion are all familized to where the family is privatised (Reiter 1975: 278 in Collier and Yanagisako 1987: 107). Within this transformation the public and private arenas are constructed through the division of labour by sex (*ibid.*). Thus men enter the public realm to which is attached authority and prestige. In Jamaica, however, women have always been in the labour force. Labour is gendered though, with most work tied to the domestic realm - cooking, washing, renting rooms etc., - which are also jobs without prestige. However, it is clear that the analytical categories of the public and private spheres were not conclusively divided on the basis of sex. Rather, the kinds of work conducted in the public sphere were determined by sex.

The domestic and public realms are also entwined when women's use of the home is considered. Women often conduct small businesses from their own home. Women made money from the home in Whitehouse by freezing and selling fish, washing clothes, selling food, and sewing or crocheting. Elsewhere, I found women running late night fast food bars (chicken and rice) and hairdressing salons. Women undertook these jobs sometimes as a casual practice alongside other employment, whereas some conducted them as a primary method of making money. Earning money in the vicinity of one's home has a number of advantages. There are no large costs of overheads in renting or constructing another building. Women are also able to look after children rather than paying or relying on someone else. Women are also able to work in their own time and on their own terms. Thus, the private domain of the house was also used by women to conduct a 'public' activity, earning money.

It is important to note though, that although making money was conducted in the home, this did not create an open sphere for people to enter. The economic activity was firmly embedded in the home and in women's lives but other people

were not brought into the space of the home through business. For example, when buying fish from a woman from her home freezer, a person would wait outside the house while she brought out what was requested. Likewise, hairdressing or other beautification practices would be conducted in a separate special room or on the veranda if the customer was not family or a close friend.

Although women also worked publicly, trading on the streets for example, men in comparison, very rarely worked from the home. Men's small enterprises were conducted away from the yard. Tyre repairs, car washes, and food outlets for example, were always in public view, with the majority being by the roadside. The comparison of men's publicly displayed work and women's more 'home-tied' work signifies how women, although working and in the working world, are still largely conducting informal work through the private sphere. Although women ran bars and shops in Whitehouse, this work was still conducted within the confines of buildings and away from the public gaze, whereas men would work in public spaces.

Finally, in order to understand the boundaries and inter-relationships of the public and private world, the authority of men over women has to be addressed. In consensual unions men, in a sense, possess the women. Women come to be known as "Steve's gal" or "Johnny's gal". Other men, especially, will respect women as their friend's property (especially if they are their 'baby mother') and will not flirt with them. Men are also very possessive of their women and get jealous quickly if their girlfriend is seen talking to another man too frequently. If women actually 'stray' from their boyfriend and he finds out, physical abuse may also occur.

Not only should women conduct themselves according to what is appropriate for a woman, they should also not question their man's behaviour. Men prefer women who do not ask questions and who 'trust' their man and his behaviour outside the household. This 'trust' is often misplaced. For although men ask their women to trust them, it does not follow that the man will not have outside relationships. When I asked why women do not hang around with friends as much as men do, one woman replied "because women too busy looking after de home, cleaning, cooking, washing all de tings man nah wan fi do, men just wan form

crew, eat, and walk up and down". Women don't have time to do the things men do as they are doing the work men don't want to. Men don't want to be inside the home, they want to be out, in public. Yet even though men spend their time out of doors, their authority in the house remains.

Work and status

Few women in Whitehouse considered a formal career, in terms of education and professional enrolment, as the way out of poverty. A handful who had made it through school looked for some kind of further learning in order to gain employment. One family in Bottom Whitehouse were able to support their children through university. Another young woman was considering learning Spanish to work in the tourist industry as something other than a waitress or a cleaner. But the majority of women in Whitehouse had very little education and so did not consider this as an option.

As I have shown in Chapter Two, finding the right work, or the opportunity to make money, is often a case of getting lucky - meeting the right person, or receiving a lucky break. In business, higglers can be independent and build up their trade, from selling one or two items, to obtaining a stall on the street or place in the market (cf. McKay 1993; Katzin 1960). So it is for women in their relationships with men. Most young women in Whitehouse do not see their luck as just about being in the right job, but more about in the right man. Two out of the three bars in Bottom Whitehouse were set up by women's boyfriends. Women who have been able to move out of the family house into their own home have been given the opportunity to set up a home through their boyfriend's earnings. Thus an economic and sexual relationship with a man could also be one of opportunity. Men themselves could be a form of work or enterprise, as men were often the means to access capital for production.

Relationships with men turned more into a need than an opportunity if the female networks that the women had access to were unable to support them. If the other female members of their household or family were in the same position as themselves, then they had little option but to look to men. Furthermore, in

Whitehouse it was also found that some young women had fallen out with their families or moved away from them deliberately as they felt unable to live there. Other women in Whitehouse were sometimes disapproving of them and so they were again unable to rely on female networks for economic or labour support.

Finding a good man, one who was wealthy and generous, was a matter of both trying and investing in oneself in terms of looking good as well being lucky. Good men were considered to be 'out there' somewhere. Some men in Jamaica had money, and men were always looking for women. One day a woman would get lucky by finding a successful man. Day (1999) shows this attitude to be prevalent in London prostitutes (p. 140). Here, women maintain a positive notion of the market and their work by considering themselves creative in finding money and gullible men that are 'out there' (ibid.: 139-140).

In discussing female workers in Negril, Jamaica, McKay (1993) significantly mentions that it is a sign of social status when women do not need to work. "Women who need to work to survive are accorded low status, are thought of as belonging to a lower class and are not regarded as desirable role models" (p. 285). The well-provided for woman does not need to work, that is, in McKay's perspective, conduct paid employment. It should also be considered then, that some women, in order to gain in social status may choose not to be employed, and instead prefer to live off men. Yet the majority of women in lower class communities work because they have to. They do not have high status jobs, but are employed as cleaners, waitresses, or private domestic workers. Women worked in these jobs because they had to, even if the money barely provided daily essentials, but just enough for "hand to mouth living". They were working because they did not have a man to look after them, or because his earnings alone were not enough to provide for the household.

The increase in social status for women who are not working cannot be ignored in studying a lower class community. Rather than seeing these women as dependent upon men, which a modern Western view of work and conjugal relationships suggests, from a Whitehouse perspective these women were working

and investing in men for economic gain and status. Rather than taking a low paid job with the attached social stigma, women chose to look for a supportive man.

Some older women and men looked down on these women because they were trying to 'act above themselves'. They were poor women like everybody else but rather than working hard and supporting their kin, they were choosing to support a sexual partner. They were promoting themselves in social rank but this was not beneficial to the whole family. These young women though, were proud not to be working, just as a woman who was successfully supported would be proud. However, although they would "go on like they was someone", others simply pointed out that they were "good for nothing" and that they should be working hard like everyone else. One man even said to me as he looked upon a small group of women hanging around the beach, "if those women were in Cuba now they would have to be chopping cane in the fields, they couldn't just sit down so."

'Homegirls'

The giving of money by men to women and the expectation that the male is the provider is not a recent phenomenon in Jamaica. Clarke (1957) and Smith (1956: 65) have also shown the significance of these matters in the past. But some women in Whitehouse at the time of my study treated their relationships with men in a political way.

A number of young women in Whitehouse frequently moved from man to man. They stayed with a man whilst he fulfilled her needs but also had more than one man at a time. Jamaicans called these kind of women 'private whores' or 'homegirls'. These women almost crossed the boundary in to prostitution. They used men for economic gain and offered their own sexuality to offer in return.

Having a number of different relationships they were able to legitimise their positions as 'homegirls' by considering their own sexuality as a powerful tool. Many women saw the only resource they had to survive or to progress was their body. One young woman stated "if you think you are not educated and don't have

any skills then you just turn to men, as you think you have a body so that is all that is needed".

Homegirls in Whitehouse and similar communities nearby were neither a rarity nor a surprise. Many communities in Montego Bay have become 'squatter' communities, with poor conditions and high unemployment. Both homegirls and prostitutes were common in such places. In Whitehouse approximately eight out of thirty-two women under the age of thirty-five were considered homegirls, another four were prostitutes.³² Although the sexual behaviour of these women was supposed to be secret, news still spread round the community about them, especially as a number of the men they slept with were living in Whitehouse as well. Gossip was then reinforced as homegirls would regularly hang around the public areas, mainly in front of the bars on the fishing beach. This enabled the women to speak to men that came into the locality and also gave them opportunities to beg money. Hanging out in public spaces was predominately the preoccupation of men whilst women were expected to stay in the vicinity of their yards (cf. Pulsipher 1993: 55-57). Staying in the vicinity of the yard was what respectable women did. Women would likely be doing domestic chores and thus keeping a good home, and also avoiding gossiping with other women in the street, or visiting other men. In Whitehouse at the time of my fieldwork it was only these young women or 'homegirls' that would sit, "idly", in public view, whereas other women would remain in their yards, or at another's yard. These women in Whitehouse received no respect from others in the community. They were constantly at the centre of gossip, and both men and other women complained about them. The use of public space, their visible idleness and their overt promiscuity were the exact opposites of respectful female conduct and brandished them as different from women who were more discrete though as enterprising, in their relationships with men.

'Homegirls' were resented not only because they drew attention to what all women were doing but also because their conduct was taken by outsiders to typify all the women in Whitehouse, "all de woman a Whitehouse a prostitute".

³² This figure is approximate as homegirls, in their nature, do not discuss this aspect of their lives openly and I could not ask these women directly. I also had limited access to gossip.

Age

Once women were over the age of thirty, they needed to be active and productive in a different way. They needed to start building relationships with men that would be more permanent. Older women had to run a good house, keeping it clean and tidy, and have a clear reputation for being faithful to men. It would be this behaviour that would encourage a man to settle down with a woman and to raise their children and possible grandchildren throughout their old age.

Once women were older, autonomy and productivity would not be sought in their relations with men. Older women were expected to be working and supporting their household and members of their domestic networks. Women would then look to be enterprising through the sphere of employment. Most women by this age would have their own houses on family land and either be working or financially supported by kin (Chapter One). This support from kin also influenced women's behaviour. Siblings, cousins and children were less inclined to support a disrespectful woman. A woman of twenty-five, for example, still received support from her kin even if they suspected her of 'wrong doing'. But this behaviour did not continue as she got older, especially if she had children who were aware of her conduct. Once women were raising children and then grandchildren, they needed to teach children to be well mannered and respectful and therefore needed to conduct themselves in a respectable way. Thus as women got older, they began looking more towards their future and their children's future. This future was dependent on respectable behaviour, either through the possibility of a long-term relationship with a man, or through reciprocal relations with kin in the domestic network. Women were no longer concerned with short-term projects in dealing with men, they attempted to establish good reputations for themselves, gaining respect from family and others in the community. A good reputation enabled women to hold authority in their households, and if financially able, become patrons to others.

Most older women in Whitehouse had good reputations with regard to their family and men (although some were criticised for gossiping, or thinking they were

'above' others). Those who were not working or were too old to work were supported by men or their own kin. There were some exceptions. One woman, Ruby, was born in Whitehouse and had four grown up children of her own (the oldest being nearly forty himself). When she was younger she had been a dancer in a nightclub and also had had many boyfriends whom she used. Despite having children, she continued a 'disrespectful' lifestyle, spending a lot of time with men and away from her children. Three children remained living with her and one went to his father. When the children were past their teenage years, Ruby left Whitehouse, still pursuing different relationships. Occasionally, she would visit Whitehouse when she need help. Her presence usually caused friction though, as her children were reluctant to give her money as they disapproved of her lifestyle.

Men's perspectives

Display

Not surprisingly, men think that women in Whitehouse are only interested in men's money. When I asked men what they thought Jamaican women looked for in a man, they always replied, "money". Men stated this with an air of negativity. They were poor and therefore limited in the ability to attract women. In order for men to be attractive to women then, men had to *look* like they had money. Any man driving a car got some woman's attention. As people went out to nightclubs at the weekends, men went in groups and if they did not have a car to use they will often try and borrow one in order to impress the women outside when they arrived and left. Men also wore branded clothes and jewellery in order to show women that they had money.

On one occasion, I went out with a friend of mine to a nightclub. Just as we were leaving, he showed me how much money he had on him, which was around J\$7000, or £120. This was far more than we actually needed and more than he was considering spending but he wanted to make sure that I knew he had a lot of money.

Men needed to show their money even more to pick up a young girl. Young women desired the latest clothes and hair fashion, and ideally wore new clothes each time they went out. In order to attract these women, men often spent a lot of money on them. If a man was to spend just a night with a woman he would ask her if she needed some money or would simply give her something. As I said above, after a few weeks, a man would be expected to give money more regularly to buy things for herself. Although young women were going to be more costly, they were better for a man's reputation. If a man was seen out with a young girl, or talked about a young woman he has had, his reputation was enhanced. This was through his 'strength', his sexual ability in 'handling' a young woman, and also his economic means.

Danger

As men spend so much money on women, women are thought to be dangerous. If a man has too many women he can easily lose all his money. Both sexes have to control the amount of money they are giving to others, be it family, friends or neighbours in order not to give all their money away (see Chapter Three on social mobility). But men, especially, have to control the provision of money to women. A man displays the fact that he has money, even if he has very little. A man then needs to find the balance between showing this to women but also withholding it. Thus he doesn't always give her what she expects. For example, a man may wear the latest clothing and tell a woman that he has a successful business in order to get her to sleep with him. Afterwards, instead of giving her the amount of money that she was expecting, say between J\$500-1000, he would give her just J\$100. In many ways, men are creating a false image in order to attract women, to have sex with them, since they usually do not have the economic means to back up the image they portray. I once went to nightclub that was on a boat that toured around the bay. It was a very popular place and was full of men and women. As I arrived, I couldn't believe my eyes. I had never seen so many big 'gold' medallion necklaces in my life. These men wore them to demonstrate to

women that they had money and that they were some kind of 'big man' (Chapter Three). Whether they really had money or not was for the women to find out later.

But just as men were able to trick women by displaying a false image of economic success, women also tricked men into giving them money without having a sexual relationship with them. Women in Whitehouse were said to come on to men and ask them for money. They would tell the men that they should come and find them later that night but then the women would not be around. The next day when the man asked her what was going on, she would say it must have been him getting it wrong, she was there and so they would arrange to meet again and the woman would perhaps get more money. Then the same scene would be played out.

Men who do have a lot of money are able to show this off quite easily, and certainly when men come into money or are lucky and get some money quickly, news travels round the community and more widely. The story is told in Whitehouse of a man who was lucky in a business deal and made a lot of money over night. He went out shortly afterwards and bought a lot of jewellery and started 'showing off' his money. A woman that he had known previously came looking for him and he helped her out by buying things for her house. Shortly afterwards she was in some trouble and he spent most of his money bailing her out of the police station. After she had got out and most of his money had been spent, she told him that she wasn't interested in him any more. He ended up spending all his money on one woman.

Since women will quickly spend a man's money, men do not allow a woman in a relationship to control his money in any way. Alvin had been living with his 'baby mother' for over 20 years but was adamant that he would control the money. As he was a fisherman he took in and looked after the money each day after selling his fish. He decided what he would spend the money on and so simply gave her money to buy food for the house and other basic needs for the family. When he earned extra money in the good seasons and the lobster seasons Alvin saved money or reinvested in his fishing. So not only did he control the money coming in but it was up to him what he should turn that money into. Thus the control that men exerted outside the domestic realm was maintained as it entered inside it. This is

quite unlike the domestication of money that is found elsewhere. In Langkawi, a Malay fishing village, men and women have distinct economic spheres (Carsten 1989). Women are central in the relations of the home and kinship ties, whereas men are central to commercial, competitive relations outside of this. As the money that men earn is associated with the competitive world, women 'cook' this money in the home before it is used for consumption, thus purifying the money, and transforming it from the male community of differentiation and 'endowing it with the values of kinship morality' (ibid.: 137-8).

In Whitehouse no such transformation of money and signification of relations occurs. Men desire to maintain their authority and control over women in the domestic world by controlling the bulk of money used in their relationship and the decision-making processes accordingly. For example, Alvin told me that if he wanted to spend his money on fishing gear, his woman couldn't tell him anything. If he wanted to sell his boat, she wouldn't have a say. What he earned and spent was not for his woman to be involved in. This also meant that he had control of money in order to give to a girlfriend that he had in town as and when he wanted. The reinvestment of money was particularly a matter for men to control and make decisions about. Reinvesting money would often be the turning point in becoming successful and so such decisions carried great importance. Men told stories of failures or the limiting of success when men let their women decide how to invest money. Harry, for example, explained one such failure. He knew a man who worked for a company as a truck driver. The company said to him that he could work to pay for the truck. But his woman said no, so now he is still driving trucks for other people when it could have been his. One truck could have led to another and he could have become rich.

Men also limit the control women have in a relationship through controlling the display of their own feelings. If a man is very taken with a woman then some men believe that you should not let the woman know that you love her as she will take you for a fool. The admittance of such feelings can again be taken as a sign of weakness. As men need to be strong and dominant to maintain control, men will not show these feelings in case their woman uses this weakness, as she can use a

man's weakness in sexual attraction. For if she knew a man loved her, she could take more control of the relationship and gain more personal autonomy. She would not listen to her man as much and would likely spend more time out of the house with her friends. If she was inclined to, she would also get more money out of him. If he loved her, it would be hard for him to refuse her money but he would need to be careful so as not to give her all his money and end up with nothing. Therefore, admitting to a woman that you loved her, would require extra caution in controlling money.

Marriage

Marriage is not a common form of union in Jamaica. Studies have shown that although couples will live in the same house for long periods of time, and raise a family together, very few couples especially in the lower classes, will actually marry (Smith 1988, Clarke 1957). Marriage rates for Jamaica as a whole have been consistently low since first census information was obtained in 1881, with an almost constant rate of between 4 and 5 marriages per 1000 people (Roberts 1957: 288). The lowest rates recorded, 3.5 between 1911-15 and 3.77 between 1931-5, are both times of negative economic conditions and depression (ibid.). In the literature, it is found that most people will have a 'common-law wife' or 'conjugal union' that is recognised between the individuals and perhaps within their community but is not necessarily legally accepted. In Whitehouse only 3 couples from 70 households in Bottom Whitehouse were legally recognised as married. Twenty-one couples were cohabiting and in long term relationships that could be considered 'common-law' marriages or conjugal unions.

Marriage is seen as being appropriate for two groups in society. The church-goers and the rich. Church-goers in Jamaica cover many Christian denominations including Catholic, Anglican, Pentecostal, and many more non-denominational churches. Although all these churches could be found in Montego Bay, church is still considered more of a rural or 'country' thing. More people attend church in the country. In towns and villages in the country, it is said that people will look for a wife or husband in church.

Marriage is also considered appropriate for the rich, or 'society people'. These people are said to marry because they feel like it and they have the money to do it. In the past, marriage was illegal between slaves (Momsen 1993:5) and Austin-Broos states that marriage remained problematic even when Jamaicans accepted Christianity (1997: 31; Henriques 1968; Smith 1988: 82-89). In the nineteenth century, however, the rural middle class began to use sectarian Christianity as a status marker and, coinciding with this, marriage became an indicator of modern people. Marriage became an institution that distinguished modern life from the past (Austin-Broos 1997: 31). This view of marriage has been maintained and so is seen as being appropriate for the rich or religious in society. In fact, in the past, these two categories were entwined. In the mid 1880s religious leaders and their largely female middle class congregation called for an end to illegitimacy. Illegitimacy had, however, been a meaningless concept to slaves, as no slaves had been allowed to marry. The masses did not respond to the callings, and so marriage became a marker for the religious middle class, and "disorganised" family relations with unstable relations and high illegitimacy became a marker of the lower classes (Smith 1987: 187).

The main reason why Whitehouse people did not marry lay in the perception of conjugal relationships in terms of money, and the control of money and each other. People's expectations of what a married relationship ought to be like were different. Therefore the relationship would be expected to change once a couple were married.

First of all though, it was generally held that most women would like to get married. If a woman was to get married it was perceived that her man would look after her properly. She would have all the economic support she would need for herself and her children. Although divorce is legal in Jamaica and does occur, getting married would give extra security and would imply that the relationship would last longer than an informal relationship, and that the father would be around to support the children financially. However, in poor communities it is hard for a woman to find a man who is going to be like this. As in casual or other conjugal relationships, a woman is going to be looking for a husband who has

money. "Most women nah wan yu if yu ave nottin, because you nah ave no money to support dem".

Anne-Marie was seventeen and was living alone in an abandoned building in Whitehouse. She was a 'sport girl' at one of the go-go clubs near the large and expensive hotels on the outskirts of Montego Bay. She said that if she met a man whom she really loved then, even if he didn't have much money, she could probably struggle on in a relationship with him. When it came to marriage however, she would never marry a man who had no money. He would have to own a house and have money otherwise there would be problems, as she would want many material things. For Anne-Marie then, marriage was not something that would be built on love but would be for economic gain, status and security. For the women in Whitehouse, marriage would be a way to get out of the 'ghetto living'. An opportunity to rise up and live somewhere in security, and in a relationship that was legally binding, with land, and a house that could be passed on to children. Anne-Marie had almost managed that herself. She had married a very old American man who would come to Jamaica a few times a year and see her. She was planning to go to America, but as with any marriage between a Jamaican and a foreigner, it was taking a long time for her visa to come through. In the meantime, on one visit her husband discovered that she was pregnant by somebody else. He didn't want anything else to do with her. Anne-Marie felt stupid - that she had blown her chances of rising up, as did everybody else, but she was still hopeful that since they were not divorced she might still receive something when he dies.

Men recognise that women are looking for economic gain or security in marriage and so do not seek marriage in the same way that women do. Men in Jamaica do not look to women for money because they are the ones who are expected to be the providers (except in the case of foreign women, see below). Men know women are looking for a man with money in order to get married, but this in itself is nothing surprising or worrying to a man. Men know that women are looking for money in men at all times, no matter what kind of relationship they are in. But most ghetto men are not interested in marrying Jamaican women for another reason. They believe the woman will change and he will not be able to

control her. As she took more control in a relationship, he would lose some of his personal autonomy and ownership. Coreen, a young woman who ran one of the shops in Whitehouse and had been in a relationship with her boyfriend for six years, explained this. She was 24 years old and did not have any children yet. She was in the process of breaking up with her boyfriend since she felt that he was not committing to her enough. Coreen shared a house with her mother and brothers and her three sisters. One sister was still in school but the other two both had two children of their own. Their 'baby father's' did not visit or support their children well and Coreen did not want to end up in a similar situation. Coreen explained why most men were against marriage:

Men don't want to get married as they feel it is the end, that the woman would then be in charge. They will not buy an engagement ring, they will buy you things, shoes or gifts or whatever, and will spend more money on that than an engagement ring. Men are the ones who want to be in charge, expect women to do what they want.

As I explained above, in consensual unions women are subject to men's authority. A woman's role is to look after the home while the man works. But men can use the role of a woman in order to protect his own reputation, a man may attempt to prevent his girlfriend from working in case she has an affair. Men will say that it is the woman's job to stay at home and take up her responsibilities to protect his reputation.

For men then, it was not the fear of having to spend a lot of money on their wives, although this would be expected, that put them off marriage. Rather it was the fear that the woman would change and no longer accept what the husband wanted. The most significant way women would change would be in their perception of their social position. As getting married would produce an increase in social status, women would no longer want to wash their man's clothes or clean the house. They would consider this work beneath them and would want to pay somebody else to do it instead. Women would then be stepping outside the role that men require of them in order to maintain their status in the household. Women would also want to take control of the money. They would then be telling men what to do with the money or maybe they would have a joint bank account. This

kind of behaviour would not be acceptable to men as they are the ones who should be in charge. Some men also fear that getting married would mean that the women would be able to control them so much that they would no longer be able to have women 'outside'.

The few men in Whitehouse that did marry said that they did so out of love. It is possible, but one has to be very careful about whom one chooses. A man does not want to choose a woman who is going to get what she wants and then leaves. Some women may use a husband to improve their social status, have children and live in a nice house and then leave with as many of the contents of the house as possible. Others may try and divorce the husband but stay living in the house so that he may have to leave, or he may have to build her another house on the land. If a man is to marry, he has to choose a woman whom he can trust not to do this.

However, most people in Whitehouse saw little point in getting married and thought it likely that any couple that did marry would break up after some period of time. This would not just be because the man and woman would not be able to get along, or because the woman would be likely to leave after she had got what she physically and materially wanted from the relationship. But a marriage in a ghetto community was also open to attack from others in the community. One Rasta friend explained:

Ghetto people don't marry very often. Its not like abroad where people just love each other. It doesn't really work like that. Most marriages are just about material things, or someone marries you because of what they want. Still, we could get along well and other people see that, but then a friend comes along to you and says ' I could do something for you' and then you go and sleep with him, but then he goes and tells your husband. Poor people's marriages don't last, there are many obstacles in the way. Maybe you would make a nice house, but then someone just comes along and breaks it up.

People getting married in places like Whitehouse may face opposition from others who desire to split the couple up. In this example, others have seen that the couple are getting on well, or that they have built a nice house and when others see this they get envious and try and destroy what you have. Another man may tempt the woman from her husband and then tell him, or they may simply destroy or steal the material belongings that have been acquired. Ghetto life was described as

a "competition living". This is most prominently shown in the displaying of material goods. However, this competitiveness is also prevalent in gender relations. Where a couple are considered to be doing well, or where an individual may be jealous of a relationship, gossip is often spread and people are tricked in to having affairs in order to ruin the relationship. The destruction of relationships and the subsequent limitation placed on the status of individuals, especially women, is a common source of amusement for all those who did not get hurt.

Tourists and other white people

People in Whitehouse also had relationships with white men and women. Most of these white people were tourists, but some were more regular visitors to Jamaica or were expatriates. Pete, a divorced middle aged American, was a regular visitor to Jamaica over a period of years and had decided to settle there. He had been permanently living in Montego Bay for a few months before my arrival. When he first came to Jamaica as a tourist, he used to visit Whitehouse regularly for at that time the area had a thriving night-life with a number of bars and two clubs with dancing girls. The clubs had become derelict, however, after hurricane Gilbert caused considerable damage to them and the owners were not interested in reinvesting in them. When Pete decided to live in Jamaica, he settled in a nice area not too far from Whitehouse, as he was familiar with the place. Pete was not working in Jamaica (he had tried to set up a taxi business as he owned a car, but this had not been successful) and so he spent a lot of his time in Whitehouse drinking rum. Pete had had a couple of relationships with Jamaican women. The first woman used to visit him from Kingston and had told him that she was working there as a secretary. He would give her money sometimes to look after her baby, and also for clothes and other things for herself, as a Jamaican man would. He was thinking about marrying her. After a few months she came to him asking for a loan but he was waiting for some money to be sent over from the USA before he could lend her anything. The day the money arrived Pete picked it up and took it home. That evening they went out for dinner but had an argument and she left to go back to his apartment. He followed her shortly afterwards but when he arrived

back she was not there and neither was any of his money. He never saw her again. A similar situation occurred with his second girlfriend. She was around for just a few weeks when one day she offered to take home and clean his bedding for him. She took the bedding but never came back.

Women see and treat white men largely in the same way that they do Jamaican men but they perceive white men to have more money and assets. This is not surprising since most of the white men that Whitehouse women came into contact with were considerably more wealthy than they were. Pete himself had a difficult time trying to convince women that he met that he was not wealthy. Pete had settled in Jamaica with very little. He was fortunate enough to have bought a piece of land on the coast a number of years ago, and so was now able to start building his own house there. He had also been able to buy a car and a mobile phone on credit, something which few Jamaicans were able to do. Pete owned then, the prized possessions of any Jamaican - land, a house, a car and a mobile phone. Yet he had very little disposable income - much less than he had been used to in the USA, and not even as much as many 'middle class' or 'upper class' Jamaicans. However, the women he met saw his car and house first and, because he was American, did not believe that he was not receiving a lot of money from abroad. Foreign places, especially the USA, were believed to be incredibly wealthy, and therefore visiting Americans or Europeans brought some of that wealth with them.

The relationships that men had with white women were very different to those with Jamaican women. In fact, in some respects there was a reversal in the roles between men and women. I have described above how women saw men as an economic support and a way of accessing money and also how men were expected to support their girlfriends economically. But white women, like white men, were presumed to have money, and so the men were not expected to support the women. This is not just because the women were earning their own money but because they were white and foreign. For even if a man had a Jamaican girlfriend who was earning, he would still be expected to give her money and to buy her things for her to look good and to provide for any children that she had.

As white women were a potential source of money, they became a target for relationships with men. The kind of relationships conducted with white women varied. It was most common for men to have relationships with tourists. I did not hear of any men in Whitehouse or similar areas having relationships with white Jamaicans or expatriates. Men who worked in the tourist industry commonly picked up girls for the short-term. A number of young men in Whitehouse worked in watersports in various hotels and attractions around Montego Bay. Some worked in scuba diving, others on luxury sailing boats that toured the bay and others ran jet skis. This kind of work was considered the best way to meet female tourists as men were able to flirt with women quite freely and were also able to show off their trim bodies. The physical prowess of the men was by far the main attraction for the women. For men who worked in the tourist industry, being seen with these women was a way of gaining prestige. In these short-term relationships, prestige was gained from having sex with a lot of white women and going out and having fun paid for by them in the more expensive nightclubs.

'Rent-a-dreads' and 'gigolos'

The targeting of white tourist women for sexual relationships has also developed into what is known as the 'rent-a-dread' or gigolo industry. This industry received its name from the Rastafarians who founded a niche in the tourist market for offering a more personal service to tourists. The Rastafarian look of the long dreadlocks and laid back attitude epitomises the image of the 'real Jamaican' that is imagined from abroad. Jamaican men have played on this image in order to attract tourists. The Rastafari man shows tourists the best places to go to and uses his local knowledge and contacts to get them good prices on excursions or gifts from the craft markets.

In order to gain entry to this industry, many of the men who entered the 'rent-a-dread' scene were not actually Rastas beforehand, but simply used the image for their own purposes. In fact true Rastafarians would not indulge in such behaviour as the Rastafarian ideology is against western capitalist practices of exploitation and materialism (Chevannes 1994; cf. Pruitt and LaFont 1995: 433). Yet

men who use the Rastafarian image in this way are looking to deceive women and accumulate wealth and material possessions from them. Apart from men who groomed an image of the Rasta, there were also men who initiated relationships with tourists in the same way but with a totally different image. The more general 'gigolo' did not offer a 'real Jamaican' scruffy look, but invested in looking slick and fit.

These men were offering a woman a whole holiday experience. They were looking to be a guide, friend and lover throughout the one or two weeks that she was visiting the island. Pruitt and LaFont (1995) consider the 'rent-a-dread' industry as 'romance tourism'. For them, the women become involved in these relationships on a much more emotional level than in sex tourism. Some women come to the island looking for romance or even a long-term partner, whilst others are simply flattered by the attention and compliments that the men freely and consistently give them when they arrive (1995: 426-7).

Within this romance, both parties experience their gender roles differently from the normative rules of their society. For the woman, the holiday experience can allow her to play a more dominant role in the relationship than she would normally be allowed. As it is implicitly understood that the woman has more money than the man, she pays for the two of them to visit attractions, go for dinner and tour the island. For Pruitt and LaFont, this puts her in a position of power in the relationship as she is able to control the finances, and place her man in a dependent and insecure position (1995: 427). Pruitt and LaFont also argue that men are empowered as well through this economic role reversal as they are able to portray images of success without having to make the economic outlays themselves (ibid.: 429). Thus they are able to frequent expensive entertainment outlets and therefore portray economic spending power without actually spending their own money. It is the empowerment of Jamaica men that I found particularly striking myself.

These men were able to materially and socially gain through the women in different ways. They were able to visit many places and eat and drink in restaurants and clubs that they would never be able to afford otherwise. They also

developed a new way to access money that was not achievable through Jamaican men or women. Pruitt and LaFont argue that the men are dependent on the tourist women simply because the women are the ones with the money. This, however, presumes a direct association between receiving money from a person and being dependent on them. However, local understandings of dependency are complex and need to be defined.

Firstly, just as individuals acquired multiple occupations in order to be more independent from an employer, these men were not 'dependent' on one woman alone. If a woman was not interested in him, he would also look for another woman. Secondly, these men had the knowledge and understanding that they were using women for their own social and material gain. This placed agency with the men and increased their own personal autonomy and self-ownership.

The Rastas and gigolos were very skilled in their persuasive banter and men took pride in being able to 'sweet talk' any woman, Jamaican or foreign.³³ Although some women came to Jamaica with the intention of having a holiday romance, this did not detract from the skill of the man, and the agency he gained from winning each woman for his benefit, especially as men competed with each other. Men sometimes placed bets on who could get certain women, thus showing to other men that they were skilful. Since the visiting women often knew very little about Jamaica and were unaware of the economic responsibilities men had towards women normally, then men were able to play on the women's naivety and allow her to believe that she should economically sponsor him at all times.

Thirdly, receiving money from another person in order to sustain oneself was not simply equated with dependency. When a person is dependent on another, not only are they receiving money but they have little self-control. Worthless people were especially dependent on others as they had no control over selling their labour. They were exploited more than anyone else through lack of payment and were given the 'lowest' and dirtiest jobs through lack of choice. In contrast,

³³ By 'sweet talking', men tell women how good they looked, but more importantly would brag about their own sexual prowess and their ability to look after women well. Even if the man does not look as if he has much money he will infer that he will be dedicated in spending his money on the woman. In sweet talking foreign women, men will try and persuade women through telling them how beautiful they are. Foreign women are considered naive in falling for this kind of sweet talking, whilst Jamaican women would not be so stupid.

rent-a-dreads and gigolos did not enter the industry out of no choice. Men chose to use the tourists in order to make good money. Unlike female prostitutes, who sell their body because of desperate circumstances, men entered the industry willingly.³⁴ Furthermore, unlike other working contexts where individuals were told what to do, rent-a-dreads were active in decision-making process. Their knowledge determined places to go and what to do in order to have a good time.

Rent-a-dreads were not just looking to pick up women in order to show off their virility. They were looking to gain economically out of the romance. This gain occurred while they were in Jamaica and also in the potential gain of getting abroad, where there are dreams of getting very rich. Many rent-a-dreads and gigolos were economically supported in Jamaica while their 'girlfriends' were back home earning money.³⁵ I met one man in Montego Bay who had an apartment provided for by his girlfriend and had also been bought a car. The importance of displaying material goods was paramount. These men wanted to show that they were economically successful through their relationships.

Despite the rewards and benefits of this lifestyle, men experienced opposition to their behaviour. They were not behaving as real men ought to. Men were not supposed to look to women for money. As I have shown, men had a responsibility to provide for women, to "look after them", not to take money from them. In fact, it was fundamental to a man's masculinity and reputation that he was the provider; it was through this role in the household that he was the 'man of the house'. Men who looked to women to be the providers, were in effect, behaving like women. They used their image and their sexuality to find a member of the opposite sex to provide for them. Men would have many women, one after another as long as they were willing to give them money. They would have more than one woman at a time, each unaware of the other's existence. Yet while it is accepted that women live off men in Jamaica, it is not accepted that men live off women. Thus,

³⁴ It was suggested to me that in some circumstances young women are even encouraged into prostitution by their mothers, but under no circumstances would men ever be encouraged into the rent-a-dread or gigolo business.

³⁵ Miller (2000) describes a process of aesthetically trapping individuals into long distance exchanges by Trinidadians. Whereas men here use the image of the strong-bodied Jamaican male for social and economic exchange, Trinidadians use the fame of the nation-state and the internet to build their individual and collective reputations.

the few men who met and married foreign women who were not rent-a-dreads, often invested their wife's money into a business that they could run. For example, one man who frequented Whitehouse married a Canadian woman and used her finances to build and run a tourist guesthouse.

Devon, a 36 year old man, used to be a gigolo. He started out working in the tourist industry in watersports, then would hang out at the most popular nightclub in Montego Bay on the tourist strip. This was where all the gigolos hung out. Devon described the gigolo life as hard work. It was important that he looked outstanding at all times, so he would go to the gym and work out everyday. In the same way, Jamaican women used their body to attract men, Devon's body was his selling point. In the afternoons, he would go down to the beach, wearing a tight sleeveless T-shirt, tight jeans and boots. At the weekends in the nightclubs he would always wear an expensive suit.

Being a gigolo meant that others in the community did not like Devon. He also earned a lot of money and showed it in many ways through his dress and buying a car. But again, others did not approve of Devon because he was behaving as a prostitute. Although in Jamaica men have many women and men gain respect from sleeping with many women, it was not acceptable to be plainly selling oneself in this way. But at the time Devon stated that he really desired the money, he described it as the only thing he cared about. Devon knew that this lifestyle was not right or good but he would legitimise it through his notions of how the women perceived him. He says:

You would have some people come from America and they would see you on the beach and they look at your strong body and they just want to have you. And for them to have you, its gonna cost them. Because for me to waste my time for one whole night with a woman, they have to pay me. First I'm gonna tell them that I am a very expensive man, and if you want me around and you want to have action and excitement in your life then its gonna cost you. And then when they say how much then I'll just give them a figure and if they can't handle the figure then I'm gone.

The ability women had to buy men in this way placed the gigolos in a potentially subordinated and controlled position. As women had the money, they had a choice and power over which man to have and for how long. This kind of

control was not accepted by men, and so, as Devon describes, they perceived themselves as being irresistible to women. This irresistibility allowed them to see themselves as the ones in control. The woman needed him more than he needed her.

Men who found a woman to marry and go abroad were considered lucky. It was seen as their chance to change their life and really make it big. But often these men were looking purely to get to the other country to make money and were not really looking at the relationship they would need to sustain in order to stay there.

Devon himself decided that he had had enough of the gigolo life at a time when one woman, who had visited him a few times, said that she wanted to take him back to England with her. He decided to marry her so he could make a lot of money in a new way. But once he got to Manchester he couldn't find work and was frustrated being indoors with nothing to do and not knowing anyone but his wife. Not long afterwards he went to visit his brother in Oxfordshire and met another woman whom he liked. He got a divorce from the first woman but had to return to Jamaica until he was able to marry again. Many other men in Whitehouse and around Montego Bay had married tourists but found themselves getting divorced shortly afterwards. Getting divorced also meant that men had to return to Jamaica as their visa would not allow them to stay once they were single again. Men did not want to return with nothing, however, so some, like Devon, tried to marry again, or stayed illegally in the foreign country.

All these men were using tourist women for sex and money. What they desired was to have the economic comforts that a foreign woman could bring but also have the control and independence that they desired. In many ways the ideal relationship that a Jamaican man desired was summarised by this old fisherman:

I would really like a nice woman like you (white, foreign). That way I wouldn't have to live no run around life anymore. I would be a big man. The best way would be if she stay in America and I stay here so I would still have my independence but I could just call her and say come and stay for 3 weeks or she would come when she feel like, and when she comes she can bring clothes as they cheap over there. Life would be comfortable.

Control and luck

Men's identity is firmly built on being *man-a-man*. Ideally men are strong in their sexual ability and control of emotions and money. This strength enables men to gain autonomy and be in control of their relationships with women. As I have shown, men see women as dangerous in their attempts at attaining money and therefore would portray an image of having money, but at the same time, would control how and when money was given. In order to protect their own status and reputations, men would also control their woman's behaviour. Some men would not let their women work whilst others would be concerned as to how much time she was spending with other women, and what these women were like. All men would keep a watch on how much time a woman was spending outside the house, for if she was not shopping or visiting family or friends, there was no need for her to be away from the yard.

Likewise, it was a matter of self-ownership that limited men in their desire to get married. Men were concerned that once women were married they would no longer behave in ways that they desired. So in choosing to get married, men would be careful to marry someone they believed would not change drastically. Thus men were in control of whether they were to marry or not, whereas for women marriage was achieved through what was called 'luck'.

Women also used their abilities in attracting men to change status. This could be through acquiring items for the home, or even starting a business. However, it was mainly luck that would enable women to get married and achieve an ultimate status change. This placed luck within sexual relationships in the female domain. However, relationships between Jamaican men and tourist women allow an opportunity for luck to enter the male domain. Here, luck enables a man to find a woman who will look after him economically and ultimately take him abroad. Like women, men take care in producing an image that will further their chances with foreign women. 'Rent-a-dreads' produce the authentic Rasta look of dreadlocks and baggy clothes. Gigolos pay more attention to toning a trim and muscular body. Both of these images attract women to the men. Yet it is luck that will allow a romance or sexual experience to culminate in marriage. For in the same



Plate 7. Lion, he requested that I pin his picture up in the UK, for those who were interested to look for him.



Plate 8. "Looking good".

way that Jamaican women find economic security and an increase in status through marriage, Jamaican men look for economic gain and status enhancement through marrying white women.

Even though luck is said to enter sexual relationships for men, it is in an unorthodox way for it requires a particular scenario - a scenario where men behave like women. Men's behaviour with foreign women reflects that of young Jamaican women. Homegirls and prostitutes offer their sexuality in return for money and material goods. Rent-a-dreads and gigolos also trade their body for money and commodities. They are behaving like women, not just any women, but young women who are not respected. For just as luck allows such women to meet a man who will change their lives, luck will also allow men an opportunity to gain status through marrying a foreign woman. If men incorporate female behaviour in sexual relationships in order to achieve a lucky break, then in cross-gender relationships it remains the case that the idea of 'luck' is constituted in the female domain.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the different ways in which men and women are enterprising in their relationships with each other. The ways that they do this are at times similar, and at other times different. Within Whitehouse, men and women use dress in order to convey a particular image in order to attract members of the opposite sex. For women they aim to attract men of certain wealth and productive capacity. Men often create an image of prosperity that is actually greater than the reality. As women get older, they place their efforts in being respectable and reliable in keeping a good home and in being trustworthy in relationships, as well as displaying entrepreneurial skills in business sector. Men engage more in long-term relationships later in life, and as they provide for children they gain the respect of the community. Men do not look to marry for fear that they will be trapped or controlled by their wives.

Some young men and women use their body by conducting many relationships at once or over a short period of time. For young women this

behaviour is voluntarily practiced and is politically motivated as a way of asserting self-ownership in relation to others, particularly men. Men also assert trickery over tourist women as well as gaining materially and building the chances of a more prosperous future. Trickery and cunningness is celebrated in Whitehouse and used in all relationships at opportune times. One particular scenario is that of begging, and it is to this topic that I shall turn in the final chapter.

Chapter Five

Opportunist Begging

I call this interaction begging firstly, because this is the term Jamaicans use when requesting something - "I beg you a 20 dollar". But it is important to understand that this kind of begging is different to street begging. This distinction will be discussed in more detail later. The kind of begging I am about to discuss is conducted between people who know one other, that is, people who live in the same community, are friends or acquaintances, or even of the same family. This is not the same as what could be called 'occupational' begging which can be found on the streets in the main cities of Jamaica and, indeed, elsewhere around the world. In occupational begging, individuals beg off strangers and will often offer some service in return for receiving a donation, such as washing or watching over a car (Simpson 1954). Alternatively, they may say very little or sit silently with a hat or container placed in front of them to collect donations (Dean and Melrose 1999). In these contexts, the personalities of giver and beggar are effaced.

I will show, through the study of these interactions, that the relationship is about a gift, although it is not possible to understand it purely through what anthropology considers gift exchange, and also to highlight that, although they appear to be purely economic relationships, they are inherently political. I want to expand understandings of what it means to be entrepreneurially calculating in Jamaica, and to use Simmel's perceptions of relationships in a monetary economy to understand whether begging can be considered to be indicative of a dependency relationship.

Practice

An example of opportunist begging might be where someone is sitting down on a bench outside a bar or on a tree stump in the shade and another person walks past. The one walking by sees the person sitting down and says to them "yu can gi mi sometin?" or "give a money now". The person sitting down then takes out 20 or 50 Jamaican dollars from their pocket and hands it to them, without

asking what it is for. Alternatively, they may refuse the request by simply saying no, or offering some reason as to why they can't give anything, such as, they don't have any money on them. There is generally not very much discussion or reasoning about whether to give or not, but if the person making the request does not get what has been asked for, he may openly criticise the other, by 'cussing' them to their face, or by walking off and saying loudly to anyone who is around that they are 'mean'.

This kind of begging is opportunist as people do not go out of their house necessarily looking to beg. Rather, while they are out and see certain other people around they take the opportunity to beg. For example, I was sitting in a bar having a drink with Vince, a friend of mine. A woman in her early twenties came up to the bar and once at the counter, she noticed the two of us sitting down. She lived in Whitehouse and although my friend lived outside he spent a lot of his time in the community as he did all his fishing there. The two of them had had little to do with each other over time although they had known each other for a number of years. Anyone who did not live in Whitehouse but visited the community regularly, to fish, buy fish, or hang out was known to most of the residents. Vince had little to do with this woman simply because he was not interested in her. She was well known for being rude and 'out of order' and so Vince did not talk to her very often. When she came up to the bar she asked my friend to buy her a drink. He replied that he couldn't as he had spent all his money already. So with that, she then ordered a drink and paid for it herself. I was surprised to see that she had had every intention of buying a drink for herself before she came to the bar, but when she saw my friend she took the opportunity to ask him to buy it for her instead.

Opportunist begging is most often observed in public places where it is anticipated that individuals have money on them. This includes places such as bars and restaurants but also includes places like the road-side and taxi stands. If people are on the move it is likely that they are carrying money. If the potential giver is expected to have money on them, this increases the chances of being asked for money. The most frequent reason offered when an individual does not give anything is "I don't have any money at the moment", "I don't have anything" or

"My money is done". Thus one has to appear as though one were unable, rather than unwilling, to give.

Being approached in a public place also makes it difficult to refuse. Other people are likely to be in the vicinity and the giver does not want to be seen to be refusing, as they would look mean. If a person declines to give without good reason, they are immediately stigmatised as being mean. In bars there is the added dimension that others will have seen how much money each person has been spending in the bar at that time. Even if a person has been by themselves, the bar girl will have taken note. Therefore, if someone comes begging for money or a drink, and asks a person who has been spending money quite freely, then to refuse to give J\$20 to a beggar would be obviously mean.

I was once sitting in a bar playing dominoes with a friend. We had only had a couple of drinks but had been in there for sometime. The sister of a friend of mine whom I had met numerous times at my friend's house came by. She saw us playing dominoes and, without saying anything else, she asked me to buy her a drink. She had not seen how much money I had spent but other members of the community who were around had. The only way I could refuse (I wanted to refuse as I knew this woman didn't like me particularly) was to say that I had spent all my money now, which is what I did. Later on in my fieldwork I learnt to devise a strategy to deal with situations like this or times when I wanted to buy a drink to take away when people hanging around could observe how much money I was spending. My grand design was to distribute different denominations of money in different pockets, and remember where each was, so that when I paid for products I could nearly always give the exact amount of money needed, therefore guarding myself from anyone who had their eye on begging any money that would be given as change. Towards the end of my stay, a fisherman from another area in Jamaica told me that he did a similar thing. He would never pay for small items with J\$500 bills so that others did not see how much money he was carrying on him.

As refusing to give to beggars in public places was clearly a socially difficult task, different strategies were used. In some circumstances the giver might use joking as a means to abstain from giving. One common way of requesting money

was to ask someone “wha yu can do fi me? ”, which literally means, what can you do for me? One reply I heard was, “I can pray for you”. This response annoyed the beggar but meant that they left this person alone. This form of response also enabled givers to gain at the expense of the beggar. If someone was able to make a particularly witty reply (probably a quite personal remark about the beggar) and send the beggar away having been made a fool of, then not only had they saved their money, but they had outwitted the beggar.

Practicing opportunist begging in public places creates, to a degree, a gender division in its exercise. A lot of begging was carried out in bars which women did not frequent unless they were with a man. Most young women of Whitehouse preferred to frequent drinking places outside of the community. On occasion, women had a big night out in town, at a nightclub, with a group of friends. As women were not in bars, this meant that they were not begged from in this way as often as men were. This did not mean that it was socially unacceptable for women to be begged from - both men and women begged from women, usually while the prospective givers were sitting outside their houses, or on the fishing beach or visiting one of the shops.

The public nature of opportunist begging also distinguishes it from other interactions in which people ask for money. Any requests for money that were larger than J\$100 (£1.70) would not be publicly displayed. On these occasions, potential lenders would be taken to one side and asked politely and respectfully to make a donation or loan for something particular. At these times reasons would be given to show the donor that there was a specific situation that required money. I was asked a number of times for money in this way to help people feed or clothe their children, buy fishing gear, pay for doctors fees and even fix a jet ski. This was done in secret and was not to be discussed with others. In these situations, there was a very clear understanding that the person asking needed financial help. It was for this reason that this was conducted in private. People did not want to be seen to be dependant on others for help, as I discuss further, below.

Who takes part

Although opportunist begging is not the same as street begging it was still the poorest members of the community that instigated these interactions. This included both men and women. Those at the very bottom of the social hierarchy (see Chapter Three) were most likely to beg someone. For them, this kind of begging could supplement their income fairly substantially, as they may have earned J\$100 that day and then obtain another J\$20 or J\$50 by begging. For those who also took drugs, such as cocaine, this extra money allowed them to buy some food or drink during the day whilst most of their earnings supported their addiction.

However, there were a significant number of people who begged but who were not in the lowest economic level or social rank. For example, men who were full-time fishermen also begged in this way. On the other hand, there were some people in the community who never begged. They were generally those who were the most well off in the community. It would not have been acceptable for those who "have money" to beg from others. Moreover, a person only begged off someone who was perceived to have the same amount of money or more money than themselves, so those who were perceived to have the most money did not beg but gave. This also meant that those in the middle both begged money and gave money to beggars. The amount of money people had fluctuated constantly according to the kind of work they did, the savings owned, and also donations received from family. Most significantly, it was not possible for people to estimate accurately the current wealth of another person. The display of property or goods could suggest potential wealth, but this was not a clear indicator of surplus cash, as I showed in Chapter Three.

Opportunist begging is not limited to those within a community. People come into Whitehouse everyday to buy fish, have a drink at one of the bars, or visit somebody. These people also beg from Whitehouse residents and Whitehouse residents beg from them according to who is perceived to be a potential source of money.

How intimately one individual will know another in these interactions varies. However, they must not be strangers. I was once on the fishing beach

having a drink with a local man when a young man came along whom neither of us had ever met before. He joined in our conversation for a short while and then asked my friend to buy him a drink. This was considered very rude and inappropriate behaviour. Most opportunist begging in Whitehouse is conducted between members of the community. Within Whitehouse, no one is a stranger as the area is so small that every one is familiar. Because of this, anyone in the community is likely to be begged from, depending on how much money they are believed to have (see below for exceptions). Those who regularly come into the community from outside, such as people who come and buy fish once every couple of weeks and chat to people for small periods of time may also be begged for money or for a drink. Sometimes, when a person has been hired to clean fish and has been paid for the job, they will beg a drink in addition to their wages.

Shame

Opportunist begging is not the same practice as begging off strangers and passers by. People who survive purely from begging are often people who come from the original slum or ghetto areas in the centre of Montego Bay. Others have come from the country and have not been able to make a living any other way. Disabled and mentally ill people are also commonly found begging in the streets. These people have often been 'brought up' on the streets, and sometimes have been 'sent out' as children to beg money for their family only to continue this practice as they get older. Others may turn to crime or prostitution unless they are 'lucky enough' to break out of the system. These people are termed *wutless* (worthless). Street beggars are the epitome of a lack of control, discipline and enterprising spirit. Begging on the street signifies that the individual has given up any enterprising activity and has fallen into the trap of living off other people.

Although opportunist begging is not a shameful activity like street begging, it still carries an element of shame that restricts some people from doing it. Although opportunist begging is different to street begging, it still carries associations of being *wutless*. Those who conduct opportunist begging the most are those who have the least money, who have problematic lifestyles through drug or

drink addictions, and who have little economic means of looking after themselves. These people may also beg money from strangers that come into the community. As they also display a lack of control in these areas of their life, the boundary between them and the *wutless* people who 'walk and beg' on the streets downtown is small.

Neither is there a great distinction between the *wutless* individuals in Whitehouse and those who are just above them in the social rank. In other words, they are not obviously economically distinguishable. Many low ranking people earn little more than *wutless* people. Some live in board houses without sanitation facilities and amenities. As degrees of economic difference are not visibly marked between individuals at the lower end of the social hierarchy in Whitehouse, one way of distinguishing between them is through opportunist begging. Although these people do not have much respect to lose by begging in this way there is a danger in begging too much. One does not want to be seen as just begging, and therefore one needs to engage in this wisely.

If a person were to survive purely from begging, like *wutless* people, then this would signify total dependence on others and a failure to take control over obtaining money by application of 'the brain'. For example, for a period of time a fisherman, Long Shot, was always asking another fisherman, Earl, for money. Every time Earl went to buy a drink at a bar, Long Shot would ask him for money or to be bought a drink also. Long Shot began to acquire a reputation for begging, and people started to gossip about him. It also became so annoying and difficult to sustain giving or saying no, that Earl then avoided buying his drinks whenever Long Shot was around. As *wutless* people are partly identified through their relentless begging, too much opportunist begging can lead to a person being defined as *wutless*. Long Shot himself was in danger of losing his identity as a fisherman as he was becoming increasingly associated with begging.

Those who are considered wealthy in Whitehouse never beg as they do not want to behave in ways that are associated with low status people. No 'respectable' person would ask others for money in this way. Rather, those at the top are expected to give to the rest. As an individual begs off someone who is considered to

have more money than he or she does, then those at the top of the social rank are most likely to be givers. If anyone in the community ought to be supporting and helping others, then it is those who are considered to "have money". There are about three old women and two young men who are thought to "have money" in Whitehouse.

It is the wealthy in the community that are expected to help others in providing loans or gifts of money through the ideology that it is good and right to help people in need. Those defined as needy are generally persons without kin support, or are single mothers or very elderly. Expanding this ideology to encompass anyone who could be considered 'poor', opportunist beggars present themselves to others as people temporarily in need.

As those at the top are in a financial position to give, those lower down think that they have a right to this money. Opportunist begging is not just laying out requests and *hoping for* returns: it is laying out requests and *expecting* returns. As the amounts of money that are requested by the beggar are considered to be small in relation to the money that the giver has, then the beggar believes that there is no reason why they should not give. The potential providers are not in a position to say they do not have any money. This expectation that the request will be granted defines the unique nature of this kind of begging. Since the beggar is already anticipating that he or she will receive money, it is almost as though this interaction should not be considered as one of begging but perhaps more like demanding or claiming what would rightfully be one's own.

Fish

Begging fish is commonplace in fishing beaches around Jamaica (Davenport (1956) discusses this activity in two fishing beaches in Jamaica). In the past, it was relatively easy for fishermen to give away fish that they caught. Fish were in abundance and sometimes men used to catch so much that they could not sell it all. However, due to the growth of tourism in the Montego Bay area, fish stocks have declined. This has mainly been through physical changes to the coastline in order to build a dock for cruise boats, and through sewage and pollution being deposited

into the sea (for a wider discussion of fishermen's perceptions of these problems see Robertson 1999).

Nowadays, fishermen in Whitehouse face high costs of running a fishing boat but have few fish to sell. This makes fish an expensive item to buy. For example, one pound of trap fish costs J\$120 dollars whereas one pound of chicken costs J\$60. This also means that fishermen do not readily give away fish. However, the begging of fish is still common in Whitehouse, especially on Sundays, which is the biggest day of fishing and the day on which the largest catches are sold. There are two ways that fish are begged at these times. Firstly, people may beg very small fish that perhaps cannot be sold. These are requested by young men mainly, who are hanging around the beach or may even be cleaning and scaling fish for others. These men will make a small fire to eat the fish on the beach while they are spending time there. Secondly, people beg quality fish – that of good size and taste. This is often done by women who request fish to take home for their family. Sometimes though, these women are not begging fish simply to take home. They have already been given money from somebody outside Whitehouse in order to buy fish for them. The women try and beg the fish instead in order to keep the money for themselves. I shall discuss this begging further, below.

Exchange

When those who have money give some to someone making a request in this way, it is primarily done because of a sense of obligation to the person begging the money. However, it is also the case that the giver may receive respect in return. In other words, they do not just fulfil an obligation to give. This is demonstrated when a person receives the item requested and they say to the giver “rispek” (respect). This is normally said by men and is part of being *man-a-man* and style. Respect is a word that men often exchange and most commonly use when greeting each other. When used in opportunist begging it signifies that the receiver is acknowledging the fact that the giver has supported him, and that he has acknowledged that the receiver had a genuine need. It also signifies that the receiver is a cool character himself. He has gained the money through begging,

behaviour which is neither cool nor respectful, but he is able to portray self-confidence through this male bravado.

However, the respect given to donors is limited. It is given only by those who have received some money and remains only as long as the donor keeps giving. Because of these limitations, some people try to refrain from giving, although the whole community bears witness to a person's generosity or 'meanness'. For example, Alvin is a full time fisherman and is considered the wealthiest fisherman in Bottom Whitehouse. He supports six adults and three children who live in his house and two other adult family members who live in their own households. Yet he is well known throughout the community for being mean. He does not socialise (eat or drink) with any other people in Whitehouse and can always be found sitting by himself on the fishing beach next to where he has built a hut to keep his fishing gear. Alvin very rarely gives away fish and never gives any money when people beg him. Alvin considers just about all people in Whitehouse to be "no good". He believes that all begging is a shameful practice and makes a point of never begging from anyone himself. The reason Alvin dislikes most people in Whitehouse is because they "beg too much".

Alvin does not give money or fish away as he does not consider it to be worthwhile. He told me many times, "You can give a person nine times, and then the tenth time they ask but you cannot give. Then they cuss you and say all kinds of things. They don't remember all the times you have given them". Alvin disagrees with all kinds of begging as he believes it is not right that he should have to work hard just so others can come along and take his money. As he does not want to support other members in the community he calls "no good". Alvin's attitude to others in Whitehouse means that he is largely ostracised in the community but this does not seem to concern him. He is a skilful and successful fisherman who consistently catches the most fish. This enables him to create a string of returning customers with whom he maintains good relationships by giving them good fish and chatting to them. As Alvin is particularly 'selfish' and 'mean' with his money, it enables him to support his large family, and he was even able to contribute to the

cost of buying his son a brand new engine for his fishing boat - something which most individuals in Whitehouse would be unable to do.

As any respect from giving to opportunist beggars is limited it is not possible to say that this is the main reason why people give money to opportunist beggars. Few people receive enough respect through this practice to gain any standing in the community and no person will achieve this through giving to opportunist beggars only. Therefore it still remains that givers give mainly through a sense of obligation, because they have money and feel they ought to help those who have less. In other words, this practice should not be considered as one of *quid pro quo* exchange. People do not simply give to beggars and receive respect in return.

Between exchange and sharing

The morality and practice of giving through obligation is perhaps more like 'sharing' under pressure! The practice of sharing is most commonly discussed in connection with egalitarian societies (for example, Woodburn 1998, 1982, Bird-David 1990, Rival 1999, Overing 1992). In these societies sharing is considered the antithesis to economic exchange (Woodburn 1998, Rival 1999). Sharing is conducted without the idea of a direct return and without self-interest by the participants.

Sharing is morally and practically separated from exchange. For example the !Kung of the Kalahari have a system of exchange, *hxaro*, whereby gifts are offered to individuals who make return gifts (of any value) which simultaneously open up new obligations, thereby sustaining a continuous system of exchange. These gift exchanges continue in order to reinforce social relations between individuals (Lee 1984: 98). Yet two things are never included in *hxaro* exchange - food and people. These things cannot be exchanged. When food is gathered it is pooled together and shared so everyone receives it. Meat is also distributed with the inclusion of distribution rules (ibid.: 44-5).³⁶

³⁶ Rival discusses sharing amongst the Huaorani of the Amazon (1999). Many things are shared among the Huaorani including food. Food is mainly hunted and gathered and when individuals return with their produce, the food is shared with co-residents in one's long-house. For her, all acts of giving and

This dissociation is also defining for the Hadza hunter-gatherers in Tanzania (Woodburn 1998). Here, many items are shared but the main focus of sharing is in the killing of large game animals. The meat of animals is shared according to distribution rules and stages of sharing but everybody eventually gets a share, although most have to *claim* it (original emphasis, *ibid.*: 52). Woodburn stresses that this meat-sharing is not any kind of exchange or reciprocity as 'donation is obligatory and is disconnected from the right to receive' (*ibid.*: 50). People should give without any expectation of return (*ibid.*: 54). Yet, it is also more common for people to ask to receive (demand sharing) than to offer to give. As Woodburn says, although sharing is a moral principle that is subscribed to, individuals frequently avoid sharing if possible (*ibid.*: 55). It is important to note then, that systems of sharing like this are not necessarily driven by the sheer goodness of people's hearts. Woodburn argues that people share goods unenthusiastically because it is something they simply have to do, and those receiving them accept them without acknowledgement as they believe it is their entitlement (*ibid.*: 63). Lee also suggests that for the !Kung, food is not shared through 'the nobility of soul', as people often moan about sharing. Nevertheless, it is this system of sharing that enhances the survival of the !Kung and limits the hard work that individuals would have otherwise to do (*ibid.*: 55).

Opportunist begging in Whitehouse contains elements of demand sharing. Most importantly, money is given to beggars out of obligation rather than the expectation of a return. Sharing is not done because of the selfish interest of the giver, and in fact, as Woodburn has pointed out, individuals may actually avoid sharing at times. In opportunist begging, money is not given through the selfish interest of the donor, in fact the donor also avoids giving to opportunist beggars at times. Furthermore, opportunist begging, as sharing, is not competitive, (people certainly do not compete to give), nor does it create dependency.

However, there still remain aspects of sharing that are not congruent with opportunist begging in Whitehouse. Firstly, although the practice is more cognitively than actively one of exchange, it is not possible to deny that there are

receiving food are dissociated so that sharing is not based on reciprocity and is neither competitive nor creates dependency (*ibid.*: 64).

expectations of generalised reciprocity. Secondly, although it is not in the selfish interest of the giver to give to beggars, it has quite clearly been shown that it is the selfish interest of the beggar that creates this interaction. The giver then gives obligingly or avoids giving by stating that he or she cannot.

Ultimately then, opportunist begging is a system and practice that is somewhere 'in between' gift exchange and sharing. It cannot really be classified within any one system or anthropological category. There are two main aspects to opportunist begging that make it different, or difficult to categorise as a particular kind of interaction.

Firstly, at times there may be an exchange of some sort in return for receiving money, and at other times there is none. This is essentially unpredictable. There is an ideology that permeates life that it is better to give than to receive, and that help given to others now can mean the possibility of help for oneself in the future. But as discussed above, this is more an ideology than a practice; there is no guarantee that the help will be returned in the future. The presence of a potential return foregrounds the idea of exchange. Yet the absence of a return foregrounds sharing. Money is given out of obligation and an individual does not have to have given in the past in order to receive, although, as stated above, individuals may become associated with those who are *wutless* if they always ask and never give.

Secondly, gift exchanges are built on the interest of the two parties, sharing is built on the interest of the collective. The self-interest in gift exchange is achieved by making the receiver indebted to the giver so that the latter is obligated to make a return. This does not happen in opportunist begging. The beggar has freedom to make a return if they wish, or at some point feel themselves obligated to give to someone else, but these donations are not given through indebtedness, or through the compelling 'spirit' of the gift. Money is certainly not given out of self-interest by the giver. The small interest givers may have is to keep some respect from a particular person and also not to receive a negative response from the beggar and be shamed as being mean in front of others. But it is quite clear that this interest is not the compelling force in opportunist begging as the donor never offers to give and may even avoid doing so. This is quite different to other relationships and



Plate 9. Cleaning fish is not a pleasant job.



Plate 10. People gather to buy and beg fish.

behaviour in Jamaica. In patron client relationships (see Chapter Three), it is in the interest of the giver to support financially clients in order to retain their loyalty. The wealthy individuals in Whitehouse are able to draw on the labour of the *wutless* people in Whitehouse. These enables them to sustain their status as they are able to pay others to do the more demeaning work in everyday life such as washing clothes and cleaning fish. So in opportunist begging, the individual self-interest is inverted. It is in the interest of the person who has less money, less status, and less power to beg off others. The interest of the beggar lies in both receiving the money and also gaining agency.

Although the wealthy do give money to others through opportunist begging, givers often criticise people who beg. This is rarely done directly to the beggar. Many people expressed their opinions about this to me. They complained that beggars do not understand or consider that they had to work hard to earn their money. When people come along and beg they are judged to be lazy, or to be avoiding work - they would rather just sit back and let you give them your money. People living around Montego Bay who come into Whitehouse consider Whitehouse people to be especially idle like this. They consider most Whitehouse people to be "no good"; they are lazy and they just want to beg. They do not see them as worthy as people in other places where they are trying hard to support themselves but need extra help from time to time. Older people in Whitehouse consider this to be a problem of the younger generations: they are not prepared to work like their parents or grandparents yet they still want money and material things. This change in attitude is blamed largely on the drugs trade, which encourages the young to look for money quickly and easily.

Outwitting and winning

The example of the women begging for fish that have already been given money to buy, and of the young woman who had intended to buy herself a drink but attempted to get it bought for her instead, highlight the witticism that is part of creating personhood in Jamaica. Opportunist begging is not just about getting some extra money or a free drink. It is also about spending somebody else's money or

using their resources. Opportunist begging exemplifies how Jamaicans seek to control one another. In these cases, beggars are not asking for money just so that they can eat or feed their family. The fact that the individuals were able to buy their desired commodities demonstrates that they did not need to beg in order to obtain these goods. Rather, they used the giver and their money instead.

In order to understand opportunist begging then, the practice needs to be considered like a trick or a game. Jamaicans often pride themselves on being tricksters and outsmarting other people in order to get what they want. This kind of behaviour also distinguishes Jamaicans from other Caribbean peoples. One of the most famous characters in Jamaican story-telling is Anansi the spider. He is a maestro of tricks and is shrewd and cunning. He most often uses his talents in order to outsmart a rival or someone powerful. But he also outwits his friends and family. One such story describes how Anansi doesn't have enough food to feed his whole family. When he arrives home he tells his family how hard he has been working in order to find food for them but since there is not enough he will be gracious and go without anything in order that they may eat well. His family take pity on him and so each person gives him a portion of their food. In the end he is able to eat more than the others.

In order to trick people out of their money through begging, individuals can use different approaches. At times they will make up stories or reasons as to why they need something, at other times they joke to others, or sometimes they simply persevere. Reasons for supposedly needing money vary. Some of the examples I was given include, "I need some money to buy a little food", "can you give me 20 dollars to put in the church on Sunday". Tricking the giver out of their money can sometimes be easy but on occasion may take some more elaborate working. Any story or persuasion is designed to make the giver feel more obligated to give because the beggar is in 'real' need. Yet, the giver does not know whether the beggar actually has any money on them or not. It is a possibility that the beggar has a 'pocket full' of money. They may even have more money on them than the giver. Yet there is also the possibility that they don't have any money on them at all. The giver does not know but needs to make a decision of whether to give or not. This

decision is based on a number of things including what sources of income the beggar has, whether they are known to have temporary financial difficulties, what they are likely to do with the money and whether they think the beggar is purely using them or not. It also depends upon how much money the giver has on them at the time, whether they feel they are financially able to give, and how obligated they feel to give and part with their money. The receiver is not concerned with any reservations the giver may have. If the giver has money on them at this moment in time, then this is what matters. If money is given, the receiver essentially 'wins' the interaction.

However, it is not just the winning of the money that is significant in this practice. For when the receiver takes the money off the giver, the receiver has also won a moment of control and agency. Rich people, or people who "have money" are the people who have power in Jamaica. When one individual has more money than another, they are considered to have potential power over others - the potential to control others through money. Within opportunist begging, the giver is perceived to have more money than the beggar. This means that the giver as an individual has potential power over the other individuals beneath him or her. But when a beggar gets the money off the giver and wins the interaction then they also win a moment of control. The beggar has taken money off the other person so that the giver has less money than they did a moment ago and the receiver has more. The beggar is able to keep their money while the giver had to give theirs away. A similar interaction is discussed by Stewart (1999) with regard to horse trading in Hungary. He discusses how the Rom Gypsies trade horses with the *gazo* peasants. The Rom, as Gypsies, are marginalized in Hungarian society but in the process of horse trading they are able to ascribe meaning to the interaction so that the social relations are inverted and that the Rom are above the *gazos*.

The horse fair was an area where the relations between the Rom and the non-Gypsies could be redefined. By making a profit on trade in the animals that above all stood for gentlemanly feeling, Rom put themselves in a position of symbolic power over the *gazos*. By taking hold of prices and manipulating them they could act out a control of the *gazos*. In the market arena, the role of the trader was to organise, persuade or cajole others into participating in exchanges (Stewart 1999: 35).

Just as the Rom persuade the *gazos* to trade with them in order to position themselves above others, individuals do the same in Whitehouse through opportunist begging. As discussed above, opportunist begging needs to be considered like a game or trick where the beggar will persuade the giver to part with their money. The Rom are able to obtain this power as they use the very item that is symbolic and valuable to others, in their case, horses. The value of a horse for the *gazos* is symbolic of the value of the man who owns it. He is only worth the horses he has (ibid.:35). The Rom are able to take this defining item and make a profit out of it, thus putting themselves in a position of power. In Jamaica, it is money that is symbolic of those who are dominant in society. So it is money that beggars use to obtain control over those who are above them. By obtaining money, the very instrument of power for those who "have", the beggar is able for the duration of the transaction to place themselves symbolically above them.

This is also why opportunist begging is conducted in public places. As the beggar is able to place themselves above the giver it is more worthwhile to have an audience. For the beggar gains self-respect through controlling the giver but if others are able to observe their operating and manipulation then this also bears kudos. Thus opportunist begging is not simply an economic practice. In fact this interaction cannot be understood without considering the social, cultural and political aspects.

Georg Simmel (1978) argues that it is money itself that allows economic relations to be impersonal. This is due to relations of production and the division of labour being mediated by money. In a monetary economy, a person has an 'objective economic activity' which is seen as something separate from themselves as a person, personality or ego. Economic relations between people no longer need to be personal as they are based on objective function and service rather than personality. For Simmel, it is only within 'traditional' or 'primitive' economies that economic relationships are established on a personal basis (1978: 296-300).

However, opportunist begging in Jamaica does not fit in to Simmel's argument. In Whitehouse, the person approached as a potential giver is sought on a personal basis. For example, when I first moved into Whitehouse no one ever

begged money from me, apart from those who begged on the streets. After about a month this started to change. One morning as I was wandering between the houses, a woman called Teri stopped me and asked me my name. She asked me if I wanted to sit down and she started telling me a bit about herself and asked me a lot of questions about who I was. Another friend of hers, Blacklip, came round and Teri did her hair. Teri then offered to do mine. It took a painful hour to get my hair into corn rows but in the end I was pleased to have spent the time with these two women and begun to get to know them. But just shortly after this occasion both Teri and Blacklip started begging money from me - money for food or cigarettes but also for bigger occasions. They once suggested that the three of us have a big night out in one of the bars downtown. I was to pay for all of us and even pay for the charter taxis, an expensive and cosmopolitan way of travelling. The night out never happened in the end but it was clear that I was to be a new source of money for them. After these occasions I did not spend as much time with Teri and Blacklip but they continued to beg money from me throughout my stay in Whitehouse. In this case, having a personal link with and knowledge of the person is essential in order to take part in the interaction. In fact, it is not possible to beg money in this way if the two individuals are entirely independent of each other.

Opportunist begging is a kind of interaction that furthers understanding of how 'economic' relationships are related to dependency in Whitehouse. In a modern monetary society dependency is seen in a specific way. The number of individuals upon whom we are seen to be dependent is much greater than in other forms of economic organisation. This is because a money economy creates a dependency on third parties. For example, we are dependent upon many delivery people and people in financial services in a monetary economy (Simmel: 295-298).

Begging is an activity that is generally considered to be done out of dependency, as street beggars often appear ragged and left with no choice. Because individuals appear to be reliant on other people to obtain money, they are perceived to be dependent upon them. In Jamaica, however, when people beg money they actually already have money upon them and are therefore not begging purely out of need but also in order to gain agency. If individuals are not begging

purely out of need then this raises questions about the extent to which they are actually dependent on this practice. In fact, opportunist begging is a way of obtaining money that does *not* carry notions of dependency. Firstly, the beggar is not relying on one single person or group to obtain money. Rather, they are free to beg from many people. This means that there is no feeling of being controlled by particular donors. The beggar is free to choose when, where and from whom they will beg at any time. This is in contrast to being dependent on others through work where there is not the same freedom to govern one's own actions. Following this, if the beggar does not receive any money after it has been requested, then they are able to go to another person and try again. A second person would not be approached in front of the first, as the beggar does not want to appear to be a *wutless* beggar and does not want to appear to be too much in need. This would show that they were being dependent upon them and would take away the element of agency and control of the receiver. This is why this begging is conducted at opportune moments and not regularly and systematically.

In an attempt to demonstrate independence, beggars sometimes respond aggressively to individuals who decline to give money. One woman who was not given any money when she begged from a man, immediately called him every bad name possible and went off shouting that his wife would soon leave him. Beggars often swear at those who say they will not give them anything. The beggar wants to show that they do not think the prospective giver is any better than themselves, so they put them down.

Again, similarities can be found between opportunist begging and horse trading in Hungary. Although the Rom were making money out of the *gazos* through trading horses, the Rom did not see themselves as dependent on them. In fact, Stewart says that by turning horses into commodities, the Rom were able to play on their skill 'to *make* the *gazos* sustain the Rom' (1999: 35 emphasis added). This is achieved through the different roles each had in relation to horses. Whereas the Rom simply traded horses, the *gazos* needed them for their agricultural work. Thus the *gazos* needed to buy a horse whilst considering the long term, but the Rom traders could acquire any horse if they thought they could quickly turn it around to

make a small profit (ibid.). The Rom do not see themselves as dependent on the *gazos* because they are the ones actively controlling the trading situation. It is they who persuade and cajole, and control the bargaining process. They make the *gazos* buy the horses and give them a profit. In the same way, opportunist beggars are persuasive and make the giver part with their money through playing on their poverty and the morality of helping the poor. Furthermore, the beggar does not consider the long term financial situation of the giver in requesting their money, and is not dependent in the long term for this kind of money. Rather, they use the moment to acquire extra money for themselves, which is spent on consumption - normally a luxury drink, some extra food or some cigarettes. However, if the givers are well known for having money, then they are open to many people begging off them in this way and they have to consider the long term in giving to beggars, as they do not want to find themselves having given everything away.

Like trading or running a business, opportunist begging is another way to make money out of 'nothing'. In order to be successful at it, one needs to be skilled at using 'the brain' to win the interactions without causing detriment to the self. Within this scenario, beggars need to be particularly adept at taking opportunities wisely. The temptation is to beg often but this can portray the beggar as in real need and take away their display of self-control. In a similar way that traders estimate the market on a daily basis, beggars also need to estimate who is likely to give in order not to receive too many knock backs, and again damage one's appearance of self-ownership. Individuals need to be aware of who in the community has 'come into' money recently, and so will watch the fish catches being unloaded on the beach, or who seems to be spending money more frivolously in the bars. The economic circumstances of individuals can change quickly so this information needs to be gathered and assessed almost constantly. Whereas a business can take some time to become successful in terms of making a profit and displaying real skill, opportunist begging offers individuals the opportunity to use the brain and win control in very short periods of time. It doesn't need any previous economic capital and is therefore an attractive strategy for any poor member of the community to display control to others.

Conclusion

Opportunist begging is a system that allows those who have less money to access the resources of those who have more. Beggars are able to utilise the moral value in Jamaica that it is good to give and to help those who are in need. By representing themselves to others as a person in need, but not without self-control, they are able to ask and persuade others to give them money, or sometimes food and drink. As it is a moral obligation for those who are more fortunate to give to those who have less, the beggar is able to perceive his or her request for other's money as simply claiming what is rightfully theirs. Therefore if a person is to refuse to give, then the beggar is able to shame them by calling them mean.

Most significantly, opportunist begging is a practice that enables poorer people in Whitehouse to invert the political relationships that they are in, in order to gain momentary control over those above them. This is achieved through the skill of the beggar in determining 'good' opportunities, and the donor giving away their money, the instrument of power, to the beggar. Opportunist begging is a practice that enables individuals to assert their skill and aptitude for entrepreneurial activity, and display the self as active and in control, even if just for a moment.

Conclusion

This thesis has concerned itself with practices of control and autonomy within Whitehouse, a small Jamaican community. The population of this community is working class, with a black majority. Whitehouse was historically established as a community through the acquisition of family land and the use of local resources, particularly the sea. The community is characterised as working class as most people earn low wages, with the majority of families requiring more than one worker in order to survive economically. Furthermore, those who remain living in the community have low standards of education and basic housing, where many houses contain children and adults sharing rooms or beds due to a lack of space. The community is also showing signs of becoming 'ghettoised' with illegal building of houses on public land, a lack of sanitation facilities, a rise in prostitution and an increase in drug addiction.

Despite the general poverty that Whitehouse people find themselves living in, I have demonstrated that in Whitehouse, individuals do not primarily concern themselves with raising their status or increasing agency through professional jobs. This avenue of social mobility was restricted in Whitehouse through the ideologies of race and education. Whilst individuals were able to become relatively 'rich' or wealthy in monetary terms, and thus establish authority and power within the community, this mobility did not extend beyond Whitehouse. Some who were deemed rich within Whitehouse were still considered poor by middle class outsiders. In order to become middle or upper class in Jamaica, education was perceived by people in Whitehouse as a necessity, not simply for knowledge as the route to a profession but also for necessary social skills (Austin 1984). Thus those who were not educated were thought to be unable to 'talk' to people of more middle and upper class ways.

For the residents of Whitehouse, social status within the community was achieved through the values of entrepreneurship and enterprise. Personhood was built on being active in these respects and was celebrated through the pursuit of, and dealing in, money and relationships. First and foremost though, individuals displayed control over themselves – they owned their bodies and 'brains'. Personal

autonomy was primarily defined in these terms. People displayed control over the self in a variety of ways, including, for example, who they worked for and how they dressed. Using entrepreneurial skills also displayed self-ownership. These signified to others that the individual was intent on increasing his or her status and would not be easily deceived by other people.

The dominant beliefs that 'money is power' and 'you have to have money', show the significance of money in everyday life in Whitehouse and how the symbolism of money interacts with the values of being enterprising. This includes how the image of being rich and powerful is idealised by Whitehouse people, despite the social and economic constraint that is placed on them and the role money plays in limiting and pursuing personal autonomy.

In this conclusion, I wish to briefly summarise the normative principles of autonomy and money in the daily life of this small community and then go on to elaborate other common features of the social interaction that I have discussed throughout this thesis. First of all, I shall present a brief summary of the chapters of the thesis.

Summary of chapters

I began this thesis by explaining the particular ways in which kin relationships were formed and maintained within Whitehouse. Within this domain, it was shown that the normative principles of equality, collective interest and long term achievability, were valued by the domestic network. These principles were displayed through the sharing of food, money, goods and services through time, as well as through the institution of family land. This chapter also highlighted how women in particular, built and managed relationships of mutual support.

In Chapter Two I discussed the meanings of employment. Within this domain, workers felt restricted in their freedom when working for other people, especially if their employers were perceived to be 'pushing them around', by demanding extra work from them, or withholding pay. In order to exert and display self-governance, some workers chose to leave employment when they felt

they deserved to be treated better. This chapter displayed the local understandings of dependency in Whitehouse, and showed that although working for others could mean a limitation of freedom, persons were not considered to be dependent on their employers. This independence was re-affirmed through undertaking multiple occupations, especially in the informal economy.

In Chapter Three I revealed the intricacies of status and social mobility in public space. Whilst individuals aspired to the Jamaican dominant ideology that "money is power", 'real' power, in terms of authority and control over other people, was believed to be held by people outside the community. Within Whitehouse, status was changeable and often ambivalent. Through spending money, individuals were able to display a degree of wealth that was over and above what was actually owned. At the same time, those who were wealthy could create an illusion of poverty by playing down their economic position, in order to protect themselves from giving too much money away. As status was not confirmed through the possession of money this chapter demonstrated that it was in fact taking part in the pursuit of money, that produced a person of worth in this community, and this was also shown through practices such as gambling, and 'friending people up'. The need for self-control was also paramount for keeping status in public space, and worthless people were exemplary of how status was lost, as they gave up all self-ownership through a dependency on drugs and alcohol, and thus other people.

In the fourth chapter, relationships between men and women were considered. In order to gain machismo, or be *man-a-man*, men sought a number of women to engage in sexual relations. In conducting sexual liaisons though, men were expected to donate money or material goods to their female partners. This element of exchange was then used by women to display their own enterprising skills, as women looked to increase their status through men, either through the goods they administered directly, or through helping women set up their own businesses. Some young women took this action one step further and conducted relationships with more than one man at a time, in order to display their agency even further. Young men engaged in similar scenarios with tourist women, using

their local knowledge to trick women into supporting them financially and even providing them with access to foreign countries.

In Chapter Five, I showed how individuals are able to gain momentary agency through the practice of opportunist begging. In this scenario, the beggar gains agency through mastery of fooling or persuading wealthy people to give away money. Whilst this practice draws upon aspects of sharing and exchange, it highlights again the importance of being active and skilful as a person. Whilst opportunist begging is not, perhaps, the highest form of entrepreneurial activity due to its associations of *wutless* behaviour, nevertheless, if done well it allows the poorer members of the community opportunities to demonstrate autonomy through careful thought and behaviour.

Money and dependency

Money was particularly significant to people in Whitehouse, and at first it seemed to me that it was all people talked about, argued about and looked for. I observed how money was given, how it was taken, and how people were 'manipulated' or tricked through it. I then observed that money was at times a tool whereby an individual was able to exert control over others and show control over oneself.³⁷ This control was not restricted simply to an economic relationship of money being exchanged for labour. It was much wider than this. For it was not just in a working environment that money was exchanged for services. Rather, every day, money was passed around the community, it was being shared, exchanged and procured through different avenues.

The display of control through economic activities in Whitehouse became clear when an apparent contradiction that I had perceived was challenged. At first, there appeared to be a contradiction between the process of acquiring money and the benefits money was perceived to bring. Individuals extracted money from other individuals, and in doing so could gain personal autonomy. The contradiction was that individuals needed other people to be able to do this, that is, they appeared to be dependent on people in order to achieve independence from them. But this

³⁷ As well as having a use value to exchange for goods and services.

contradiction was demolished when the cultural meanings of dependency and the meanings surrounding the political use of money were understood. This thesis has shown that the acquisition of money by one person from another in Whitehouse did not constitute a factor of dependency in relations. For example, to be continuously financially supported by kin did not make an individual dependent upon them, rather, this was a social obligation to be fulfilled. Neither did begging money from others in the community imply dependency. Instead these were practices and transactions that were open to political manoeuvre. By looking at the different ways money was used and perceived, this thesis has shown how individuals were able to pursue agency through money.

Balance and skill

One of the themes that has run throughout this thesis, is the need for individuals to balance actively or manage social relationships. This occurs not in a sense of spending enough time with people, but in keeping a balance of familiarity and distance and also being generous and yet stringent. This is due to the value of displaying self-control through such management. Managing relationships with other people shows that one is not weak and therefore not vulnerable to the control of others - one cannot be 'pushed around'. Familiarity is necessary, as one needs relationships with other people in order to display independence from them. In other words, one cannot display skill in managing or outwitting other people without the existence of those relationships. At the same time, a certain unfamiliarity or front is maintained, for the very reason of being able to protect oneself from being manipulated by others. Having a 'weakness' for people may lead others to take advantage. This was shown, for example, within cross-gender relationships, where the sexual 'weakness' of men meant that women could use these relationships to their own advantage. Furthermore, men were not inclined to express sentiments of love towards a female partner in case she took advantage of them. Similarly, people would be particularly 'friendly' in order to trick people into

sharing money. Familiarity was also needed in order to procure personal loans, yet loans were often not paid back, thus lenders needed to be careful.

A balance was also necessary in terms of public behaviour. Leaving one's job too many times could display laziness rather than autonomy. Begging from too many people, or having relationships with too many men, would also encourage negative perceptions from onlookers. This behaviour displayed a lack of vision in being enterprising, as individuals seemed unable to do anything but 'beg' or be 'loose'. Therefore individuals needed to display control over themselves and not get carried away with, and thus governed by, the same acts over and over again.

Staying away from relationships within Whitehouse was not a preferred option, as such behaviour clearly displayed an unwillingness to 'play', or be part of Whitehouse life. It showed that the individual in question was often concerned with looking after their kin, but was clearly 'mean' when it came to giving money and gifts to others in the community. These individuals carried no respect from other Whitehouse people.

Thus, what was really valued within Whitehouse was the attempt at and pursuit of control. Whilst individuals pursued money for social advancement, in terms of increasing their wealth, the end result was less important than the taking part. Social value lay in being enterprising or being active in trying to better oneself. In this way, mobility was esteemed, especially amongst the younger generation. Staying in one job, or relationship, or economic position was synonymous with being 'caught' or tied down, or having no respect for themselves. Thus people were always trying to put themselves and their money to some 'use'. Young people were expected to be busy – for women this would include being busy with children (one's own or a relative's) and the home, and for both sexes, being busy working.³⁸ Working involved not just the formal sense of employment, but being active in finding ways to receive money. This action extended to the physical behaviour of young people. Very rarely did individuals or small groups of people sit still for a whole morning or afternoon, unless there was another activity going on at the same time, such as fixing boat engines or making fish traps. The need for

³⁸ The exception to this would be women who were successfully supported by male partners, as outlined in Chapter Four.

displaying mobility decreased as adults got older, especially as they began to look after grandchildren. Then, adults engaged in more permanent conjugal relationships and jobs. The very old, were also confined to their houses for much of the time if they were infirm.

The display of action signified to the rest of the community that an individual was committed to being in control of the self – owning the self. It required ability in balancing and managing relationships. This was in terms of outwitting others and seizing opportunities to advance socially. It also involved avoiding being fooled by other people's tricks.

Gender

Being enterprising was in some regards a gendered practice, although a number of strategies were used by both sexes. Women's distinctive entrepreneurial activity was through the home. This was a place and a sphere for opportunity of different kinds. Firstly, women built domestic networks of exchange. These networks included male relatives and were orientated towards looking after a household, especially when children were present. Women would provide their own services to support others in order to maintain relationships for their future times of need. Women also strengthened these relationships in the home through the sharing of food from the same pot – creating equality between those who shared. As members of domestic networks were considered equal, it was expected that they would not conduct political manoeuvres with each other. Secondly, the home was a base through which women engaged in informal employment. By using her house, a woman saved money in overheads and took advantage of the flexibility provided in looking after children at the same time. Thirdly, by keeping a 'good' home, women attracted men. They showed themselves to be self-controlled, clean, and reliable. These values were particularly esteemed as they got older.

Women also displayed entrepreneurial skills through work and business. Women established their own businesses, either building up a trade from a small amount of capital, or investing in 'partner' saving schemes. Women also acquired

conjugal relations with men in order to receive financial backing for business plans. Women also used their work to assert control over others. The two bar owners on the fishing beach were always trying to outdo each other, as were women in the market. Gossip and *obeah* were commonly practiced to further personal aims.

Use of the body was also a way in which women displayed enterprise. Women considered their appearance to be an important investment in attracting the right kind of man, and so their bodies were looked after, both in terms of cleanliness and dress style. The body was used as a form of capital and offered in exchange for money and goods through sexual unions. Some women fooled men by having many partners without their knowledge, and others attempted to secure more regular gifts of money through becoming pregnant.

Men also had a number of avenues to display personhood. They formed friendship crews where they displayed enterprising spirit in particular ways. Men would boast about the number of girlfriends they had at one time or the fights and 'battles' they had won. These crews were similar to female domestic networks as men shared money and goods to support each other through times of need. Men could also display control through being particularly generous when sharing money and buying drinks for friends.

Men were also resourceful through work. They looked for work that would provide windfalls of money in order to display generosity and attract women. They would also fool other people in business through using 'the brain' – by overcharging some customers, they were able to be generous to others whom they wished to impress. Men also used their work to outwit others, for example, Boysie would use his mechanical knowledge in order keep his customers waiting for their boat engines.

Within sexual unions, men produced 'false' images of their economic worth in order to entice women into a casual relationship. Some entered the gigolo or 'rent-a-dread' industry through selling their appearance and bodies to tourist women. They combined this with withholding local knowledge from the women about economic exchange, in order to persuade foreigners to spend money them.

Time

The appropriation of time has also been highlighted in the different situations discussed in this thesis. Through considering time perspectives, it also clear how agency is both gained and limited in Whitehouse. I follow Day et al (1999) in using the term 'living in the present' but also draw upon Miller's (1994) discussion of 'transience'. Throughout this thesis, the use of 'living in the present' has been remarked upon as a way for poor and marginalised people to gain control in their lives. For example, living in the present allows the poorest members of Whitehouse to spend their money as they choose, often spending quickly the little that they have on alcohol or gambling. By doing this, they exert their freedom in choosing how to spend their money, and are not restricted to giving away cash through kin or friendship obligations, which are orientated towards the long term. A focus on the present also allows individuals to leave employment despite the loss of earnings this entails (Chapter Two). Rather than looking towards the long-term consequences of a loss of money, individuals focus on the day in hand in order to gain agency.

Similarly, time is related to the values surrounding self-control. People in Whitehouse value 'non-permanence' in general. From a bourgeois point of view this is not a 'good' rationale, but for people in Whitehouse not being committed to an occupational career allows opportunity for self-ownership. Non-permanence and multiplicity were also valued within sexual relationships amongst the young, and in the community hierarchy.

Another aspect of the use of time is the prevalence of short-term transactions. In Chapter Five I demonstrated how the moment of begging and taking money off another person allowed agency to be gained for the receiver as they tricked or deceived the giver. The fast moving game of dominoes is also a way of gaining money and power in one, or a series of, swift transactions (Chapter Three). Spending money quickly on one expensive item, as opposed to taking one's time and comparing prices in different shops (Chapter Three), also displays a commitment to using short-term transactions for personal command. However, whilst short-term transactions allow individuals to gain agency, it is also important

to indicate that in contexts such as these, agency is limited to short periods of time. Therefore, whilst, for example, opportune moments of begging can be positive experiences for the self, they are only temporary.

Alternatively, whilst many transactions and relationships were evaluated with an orientation to the present, kin relations were shown to be concerned with both the past and future (Chapter One). Through family land, and relations of reciprocity, individuals were able to prepare for the future. By claiming rights to family land, rather than squatting on public land, individuals secured space for their own family and that of their children. Sharing money and goods with kin whenever possible, in the present, maintained relations of exchange for the future.

Final remarks

This thesis has presented the everyday politics of life in a Jamaican community. It has shown how relationships have been continuously formed and avoided or broken through the manipulation of money and the dominant ideology of personal autonomy. Although the ethnography of a small community, this thesis has drawn upon the values that have been apparent in Jamaica's history from the plantation system to the present. These are particularly the values of autonomy that were expressed through resistance on the plantation (Patterson 1967), through family land (Besson 1979, 1992) and the informal market (Mintz 1974). I have shown how the relationships between people in Whitehouse continue to express this value. I have also demonstrated the many ways in which the poorer individuals in Jamaica are creative in taking dominant ideologies of autonomy and the power of money and using them to pursue the desired agency in their own lives. New strategies such as relationships with tourists and involvement in the international drug trade are also being created, as Jamaicans continue to aspire to have control over their own lives amidst relations in a changing global economy.

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